

LIFE
OF
ZWINGLI

HOTTINGER

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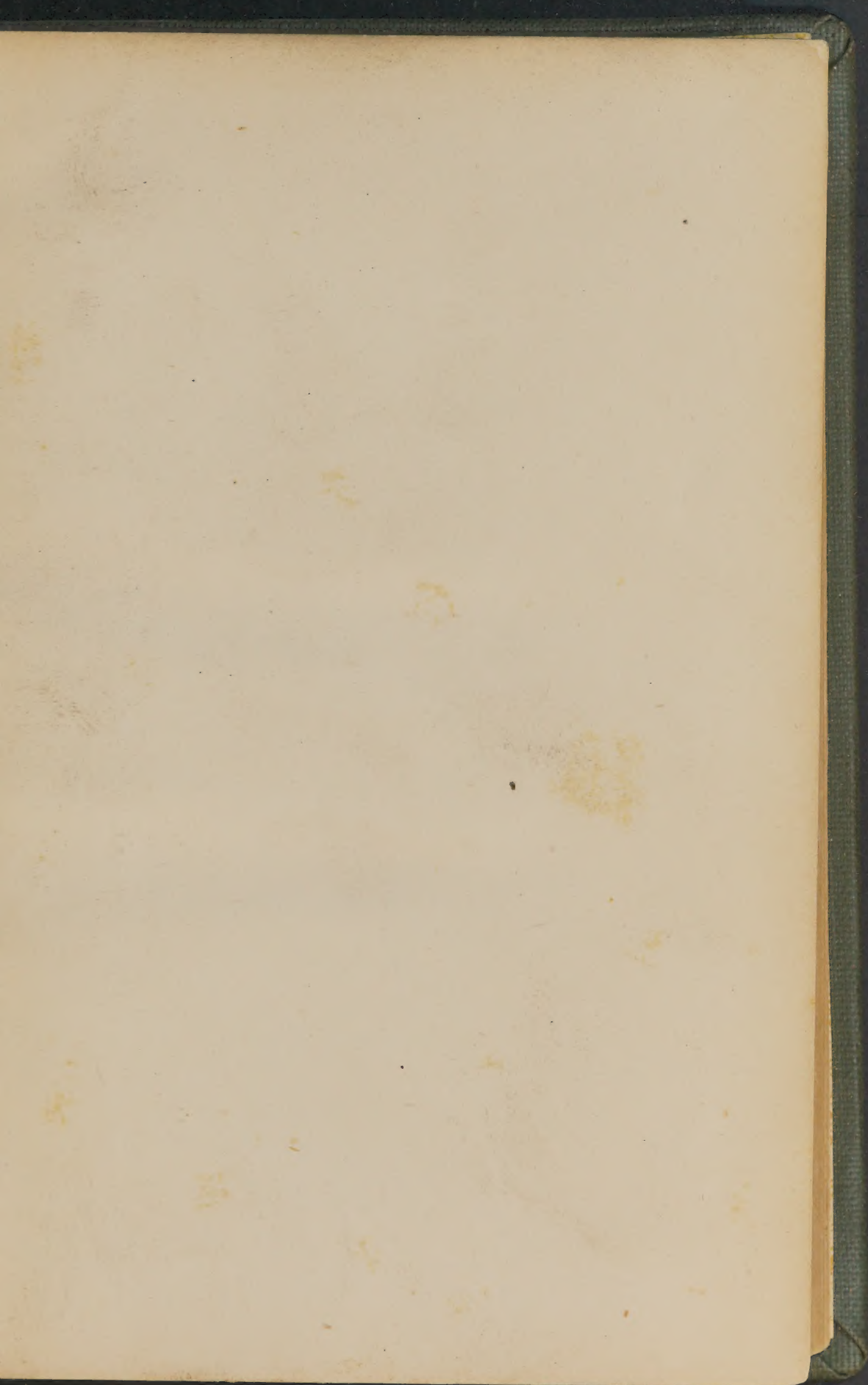


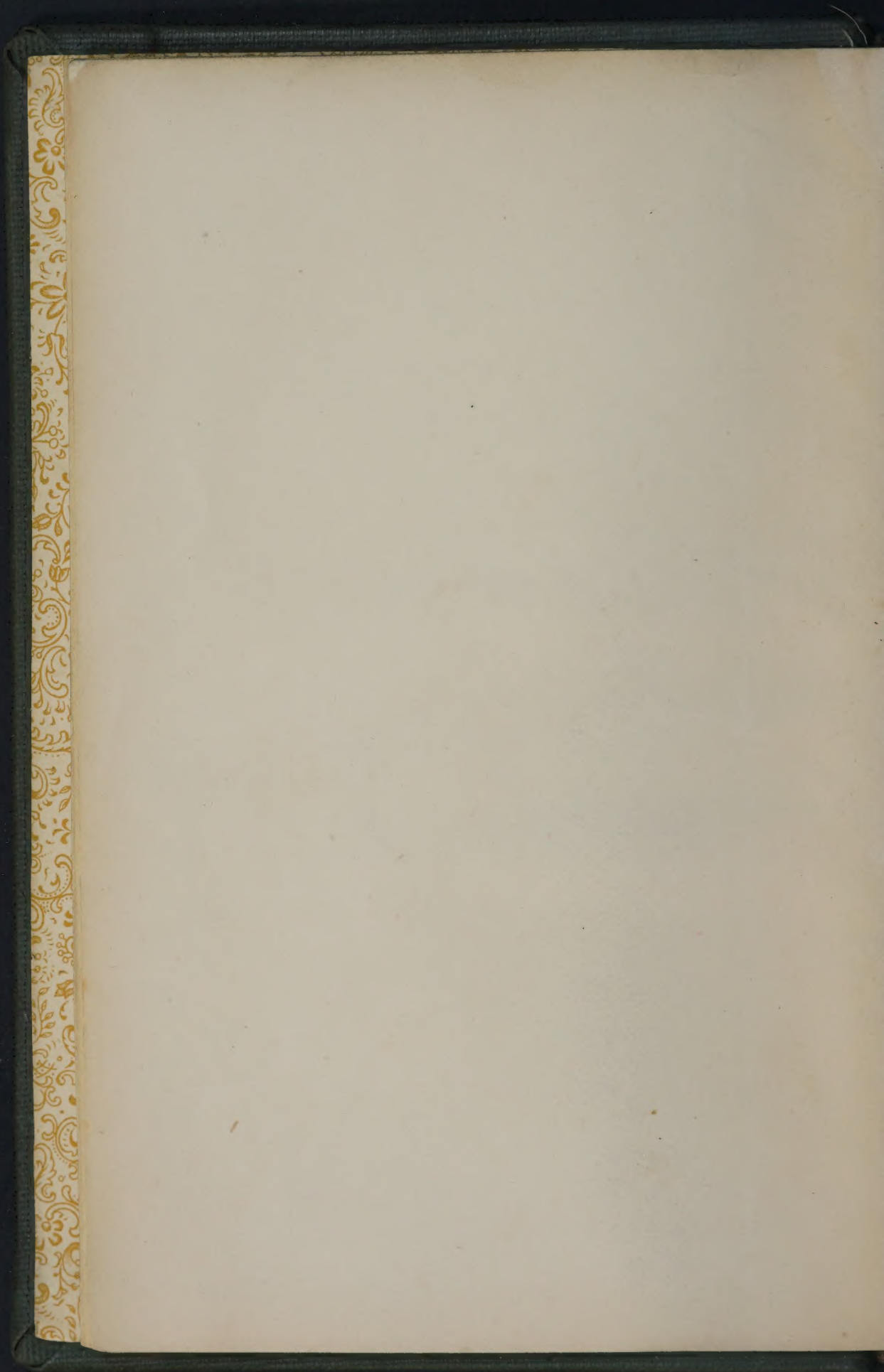














SWITZERLAND

Engel & Bartel
 1880
 for
 Zschokke's History.



THE
LIFE AND TIMES
OF
ULRIC ZWINGLI.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

OF
J. J. HOTTINGER.

BY
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OF FRANKLIN AND MARSHALL COLLEGE, LANCASTER, PA.

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Author's Preface.

"Biographers should not busy themselves so much with deeds, as their moving causes; with what motives, by what means, for what ends and under what circumstances they were performed. If we limit ourselves to a simple detail of facts, our judgment is determined by success; and upright men are condemned as evil or imprudent, because of the unfavorable issue of their endeavors. To set forth the views of Zwingli and the high mark to which he strove to carry everything, were dangerous—would open a wide door to envy and calumny, and would not be permitted by the government of Zurich; since it would be a violation of the *Landfriede*, various resolutions of the cities and the Hereditary Union with Austria. Without this, however, the history of his life would be dry, and posterity would neither admire nor love Zwingli, but regard him as a thoughtless, foolish man. The unhappy catastrophe has placed everything in a false light."

The foregoing remarks of Bullinger show with what caution our forefathers were obliged to speak of Zwingli's political acts. Indeed, after the battle of Cappel they were looked upon with little favor, even in the Reformed portion of the Confederacy. Bullinger himself, Zwingli's successor, was for the moment filled with despondency. He wrote to his friend, Myconius: "We will never come together again. No one trusts his neighbor any longer. Surely, surely, we live in the last times. It is all over with the Confederacy." The passage above-cited

was written perhaps at this juncture. But he soon recovered his courage. His confidence in God returned with renewed strength, and he then began that career, which was so active, so noble and so full of blessing. He continued the work of his illustrious predecessor, and described it also with a powerful pen and a reverent heart, leaving behind, for thoughtful readers at least, intimations of what he durst not wholly reveal to his contemporaries. Three centuries have since gone by, and unrestricted access to archives and multiplied investigations have brought to light reports and documents hitherto unknown. From these materials, the author endeavored, fifteen years ago, to delineate the life and times of Zwingli. That volume was designed for those, who study history as a science : the aim of this one is to present the same results in a popular form. And as our people, now-a-days, pay so much attention to what is written and spoken, let them hear once more the voice of one of the noblest statesmen of former ages ; let them consider his acts, and ponder over his sad fate. If we regard him merely as a reformer of the Church, he may perhaps appear to us surrounded by a brighter glory ; but history demands a full representation, and such a representation exhibits him as a man "possessed of like passions with ourselves." Yet, just in the acknowledgement of his own infirmities by Zwingli, and in his submission with humble faith to a Higher Power, do the unmistakable features of true religion shine victoriously above that worship of self which springs only from vain conceit.—May the following work produce the same conviction in the mind of the reader !

Preface.

The volume, here translated, was published in Zurich in the year 1842, and may be regarded as the fullest and most reliable history of Zwingli and his times that has yet appeared; for, in addition to the numerous works, in Latin and German, which relate to this particular period, the author has had free access to an immense mass of important and necessary state-papers, long buried in the archives of the Canton.



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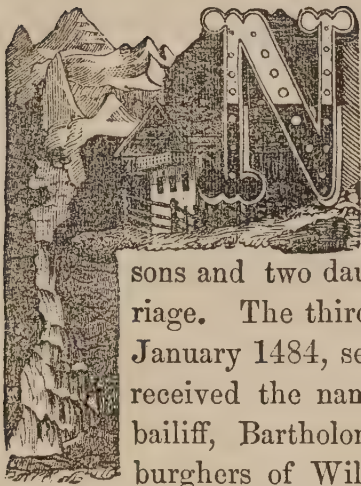
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CHAPTER FIRST.

ZWINGLI'S YOUTH. HIS LABORS IN GLARUS AND EINSIEDELN.



NEAR the source of the river Thur, in Wildhaus, a mountain-village of the Toggenburg, lived the bailiff Ulric Zwingli, with his wife Margareta Meili, in moderate circumstances and universal esteem. Eight sons and two daughters were the fruit of their marriage. The third of these sons, born on the first of January 1484, seven weeks after Luther's birth-day, received the name of his father. A brother of the bailiff, Bartholomew Zwingli, was chosen by the burghers of Wildhaus, who a short time before had separated from the mother-church of Glarus, as the first pastor of the new congregation. The mother also had a brother of the clerical order, John Meili, abbot of Fischingen. A pious and friendly man, he loved the children of his sister, as if they were his own. In the bosom of an honest family, breathing the pure cool air of a green Alpine region, amid the simple pleasures of a shepherd's life, the little Ulric grew up vigorously, quick-witted, looking out into the world with clear eyes, and though somewhat rude like his countrymen, yet gifted with senses fully alive to the beauties of nature and the harmonies of voice and instrument.

The early signs of promise, which he gave, were the means of opening for him the path to scientific culture. His uncle, being made deacon at Wesen, left Wildhaus in 1487, and took the boy with him. By his help and that of the teacher at Wesen, he was prepared in his tenth year to enter the Theodore School at Little Basel, whither he now went, again supported and recommended, as is probable, by his uncle.

It may not be amiss to introduce some notice of the educational system of that age.

Lowest in rank appear the German schools. Here and there teachers were provided for them by the parish-officers, but in other places the supply was left to accident. Older students, under the name of *lehrmeister*, traveled around, oftentimes with wives, practising their vocation and hiring themselves out for longer or shorter periods. Two well-painted placards of these strolling masters are preserved in the library at Basel. They exhibit the interior of a school-room. On one the children are sitting and kneeling on the floor with their books, whilst the master, rod in hand, is teaching a boy at his desk and his wife a girl in the opposite corner; the other represents a chamber in which older scholars are receiving instruction. The following advertisement is written beneath both:

"Whoever wishes to learn to write and read German in the very quickest way ever found out, though he does not know a single letter of the alphabet, can in a short time get enough here to cast up his own accounts and read; and if any one be too stupid to learn, as I have taught him nothing so will I charge him nothing, be he who he may, burgher or apprentice, woman or girl; whoever comes in, he will be faithfully taught for a small sum, but the young boys and girls after the Ember weeks, as the custom is. 1516."

To all, who were unable to obtain the necessary elementary instruction at home, or even perhaps in the monasteries, these

schools were open. Children and adults frequently sat on the same bench. Of course, there was nothing like thorough knowledge among the masters, nothing like a division into classes, or a comprehensive plan of instruction. Just as the natural talent of the teacher was greater or less, were the results better or worse. And yet such was the only education of a large majority of the burghers. Indeed thousands were destitute even of this.

Boys, designed for a higher training, sons of the wealthy, or of the poor, who were so fortunate as to meet with encouragement to a noble effort, passed over into the Latin schools, into one of which we now see Zwingli enter.

In these schools, found in most of the larger and sometimes also in the smaller towns, the teachers were usually clergymen, who received annually a moderate salary and a coat from the public treasury, or oftener still, from the revenues of pious foundations. For their better maintenance, where the foundation could not give them a full support, they were permitted to accept school-money and even provisions. The poor scholars earned this money by singing in companies before houses on new-year and other holidays.

The course of instruction embraced three branches: Latin Grammar, Music (especially the art of singing,) and Logic. The study of the latter, which ought to teach how to give clear expression to thought, was for the most part time wasted amid useless subtleties and verbiage. The reputation of the school depended altogether on the character of the teacher. As soon as he had made himself master of the prescribed course, he either added to it new branches, or at least understood how to render it profitable. But his main endeavor was to stimulate the youthful mind by his own mental activity. To such a teacher hundreds of scholars flocked from all quarters.

The following regulations, taken from one at Bruck, will

give us some insight into the state of discipline among schools of this kind.

“The schoolmaster shall take in school at five o'clock in the morning, in summer, and at six in the winter,* give lessons to each one according to his rank, age and capacity, and explain them well and mannerly, hearing them at the proper time, and pointing out to the boys their mistakes and failures, so that by this means they may acquire skill and honor. After lunch, he shall come to school at eleven o'clock, except on festival days, and then at twelve, to give lessons and instruction till four, if that be the usual hour of leaving off work for the day. In the evenings he shall teach them Latin and penmanship faithfully and modestly, and keep them as busy as possible, so that they may get a good and gentle training and be preserved from idle talk, quarrels, and brawls. He shall charge them to talk little and use few words, and when in and out of school to speak with each other in Latin; but with their parents and the people at home they may talk German. He shall teach them the cantum in verse, antiphonies (alternate chanting in choirs), intonations (singing along with the priest), hymns and requiems in various ways, suited to the time and occasion. He shall earnestly exhort them to behave with decorum in the church, the choir, the church-yard and the belfry, to abstain from disputing, shouting, huzzaing and bell-ringing, either in, upon or around the church, and also not to touch the bells, at peril of being stripped and flogged soundly from top to toe. When school is out they shall go together before the charnel-house and each one shall repeat with devotion a pater noster, an ave maria or the psalm *de profundis* and then return home quietly. Striking each other with satchels, pinching, spitting, fighting and stone-throwing, shall be punished by the rod. The schoolmaster shall beat them with rods, and not with his fist or

* Dinner was eaten at ten, or at the furthest eleven o'clock.

staff, and particularly not on the head, lest, on account of their youth, he might thereby do great damage to the organ of memory."

Thus the rod was formerly the chief means of school-discipline. And even far into the era of the Reformation a yearly holiday was observed under the name of "The Procession of the Rods," in which all the pupils of the schools went out in the summer to the woods, and came back heavily laden with birch-twigs, cracking jokes by the way and singing:

Ye fathers and ye mothers good,
See us with the birchen wood
Loaded, coming home again;
For our profit it shall serve,
Not for injury or pain.
Your will and the command of God
Have prompted us to bear the rod
On our own bodies thus to-day,
Not in angry, sullen mood,
But with a spirit glad and gay

The greater part of the male students were animated by a wild and reckless spirit, the result of a fickle roving from town to town. The pretext for this course was the necessity of hunting up skilful teachers; but with many it was only love for a career of frolic and idleness. The oldest and strongest scholars, young men of twenty and upward, each of whom had a different plea to urge, set the example. By the promise of a living free of cost and instruction in the rudiments they attracted to themselves younger boys, who, as soon as they had crossed the boundaries of their fatherland, were converted into servants and compelled to beg or steal money and provisions for the common treasury. Thomas Platter, a native of Valais, when a child, nine years of age, followed such a wandering student and traveled with him through Germany as far as the borders of Poland without ever learning to read, until in his

eighteenth year, he received for the first time better instruction in Schlettstadt and afterwards in Zurich. He has left us a picture of his student-life in an autobiography, extracts from which are found in a number of works. It can easily be imagined how several thousand scholars of this roving cast, who all subsisted on alms, should frequently meet together in one town. The younger ones, called *archers*, spent the night in the school-houses, and the older (*bacchanalians*) in little chambers specially reserved for their accommodation. In summer they all lay together in the church-yards with the grass for a bed. Wo to the chickens, the geese and the fruit-trees, where such a troop passed by! Here one man hissed his dogs on them, while there another gave them a friendly welcome, and in return for as much beer as they could drink, obtained information about foreign countries and stories of their travels. The roughest class of teachers often joined them in their revels and often others at the head of their trusty followers sallied out to drive the truants into school, who, when assailed, retreated to the roofs of the houses, sending down showers of stones, till the citizens or the watchmen broke in among them and quelled the riot.

It was Zwingli's good fortune to be saved from such a life of adventure. George Binzli, his teacher in Basel, was, in the words of an old writer, an excellent, not unlearned man, of a very amiable disposition. He took a great liking to Zwingli, who soon stood in the foremost rank among his school-fellows, a master in debate and the possessor of an extraordinary talent for music. At the end of three years he finished his course in the Theodore School, and departed, cherishing an esteem and gratitude, not lost in after life, toward Binzli, by whose advice also he now went to Bern, and entered a higher class under the care of Henry Wœlfl.

At an earlier day, Latin was taught chiefly for the purposes

of divine worship, which consisted, for the most part, of chanting and the saying of masses in this language, to the common people an unknown tongue. A knowledge of it was derived from stupid manuals, that only furnished the scholars with a stock of words, which, though not well understood even by themselves, were stuffed into their sermons, in order to gain credit for learning with the ignorant multitude.

But after the invention of the art of printing, the most important works of the ancient Romans, extant only in a few very costly manuscripts, were given to the world by the press. These, teachers of ability first took up and studied, and then explained to their scholars. What a wide contrast between such education and that of a former period! Here, instead of corrupt monk's Latin, the young men became acquainted with a highly cultivated, clear, powerful language, and, at the same time also, with the history of the most celebrated republic of antiquity, which, to the Swiss, themselves the citizens of a free country, was full of interest. Wœlflî, we know, followed this path in his teaching. "From him," says Myconius, the biographer and friend of Zwingli, "he obtained his first knowledge of the classic authors (so well preserved through so many centuries), acquired a flowing, harmonious style, and learned how to distinguish facts and exercise his judgment upon them." Wœlflî had visited Jerusalem as a zealous pilgrim, and would often speak of the journey to his scholars, who also saw that he was busied with the history of his native land and that every story of the olden time was sacred in his eyes. But to Zwingli the most pleasant hours were those spent in the practice of music. With astonishing rapidity he learned to play on all the kinds of instruments then known. This attracted the attention of the heads of the Dominicans at Bern. Envious at the greater concourse of people, that crowded to the Franciscans, these monks sought to raise against the fallen reputation

of their monastery. To secure for themselves talent, so promising as that of Zwingli, was a thing much to be desired; but happily for himself and for his fatherland, the young man rejected their offers. A short time after, four of these cursed hypocrites had to atone by death at the stake for a diversion, just as cruel as it was horrible, the performing of bloody miracles for the deception of pious simplicity.

Zwingli had now lived three years in Bern, and was already fully ripe for the university. With loving remembrances he bade farewell to his faithful teacher, who was yet to become his pupil and in old age dedicate a few sad verses to the hero, who fell at Cappel.

At that time the young Swiss chiefly resorted to the universities of Basel, Paris, Vienna, Cracow and Pavia. That of Vienna was selected for Zwingli, which he entered in the same year (1499), that saw his country triumph over the dangers of the Swabian war. He there united himself in close intimacy with two other gifted fellow-countrymen, Joachim of Waat (Vadianus) from St. Gall, and Henry Loriti (Glareanus) from Glarus. Meanwhile he appears to have devoted more attention to general culture than to such branches of knowledge as might aid him in the exercise of a particular calling. Above all, philosophy had to be studied; a truly noble science, if by it be understood the acquisition of truth, as far as it can be reached by the deductions of human reason. But such was not the character of the philosophy then in vogue. Under the tyranny of a degenerate church, the powers of the mind, not permitted to unfold in an element of freedom, were wasted amid trifling and often silly examinations and questions, conducted with a ludicrous show of importance. A certain kind of sagacity often displayed itself in their ingenious replies, and he who could produce the most singular was regarded by many as the most learned.

It does not fall within the scope of this description to hold up to ridicule opinions, which others esteem holy. Examples, familiar to those versed in books, are therefore omitted. The dangerous side of this so-called philosophy did not lie so much in isolated expressions as in its whole tendency to cripple the spirit and harden the heart, so that victory might be rendered more sure and easy to the cunning talker, who strove, not for the cause of truth, but for his own private advantage. In the school of the clear-seeing, free-speaking Romans Zwingli soon learned how to sift the scandalous game, carried on under the banners of wisdom, to distinguish fallacy from truth, and to despise from the bottom of his soul this false philosophy, the art of passing off black for white, and of leading both parties by the nose with the same blinding torrent of words, in brief, the whole brood of lies and everything belonging to it.

Although it could only have been through the medium of translations or abridgments, he already seems to have made some acquaintance with the works of the Greeks. In profound speculation and in matters of art and taste they were the teachers of the Romans, who, in spite of national pride, were willing to acknowledge them as such. Even to this day, their sages, Plato and Aristotle, must be studied by all, who are not content with a mere superficial knowledge of philosophy. Their historians entered fully into the character of the persons and of the times, which they portrayed, and in their poets a loftier inspiration ruled. One of these, Pindar, is thus described by Zwingli at a later period: "He is the prince of poets. He has a true, holy, incorruptible mind. Every expression, that he uses, be it ever so common, he makes noble. No one can either give to him or take from him without injury. In him is found a worthy, powerful representation of antiquity. It lives again before our eyes. His poetry flows like a clear stream; all is noble, charming, perfect. In a lofty style he

discourses of the gods, and it can be easily seen that he meant thereby the one, divine, heavenly power. No Grecian author serves so well for the interpretation of Holy Scripture, especially of the Psalms and Job, which rival him in sublimity."

The young men turned their attention also to the mysteries of nature, the discoveries in geography and the illimitable kingdom of worlds, revealed to us by a glance at the darkened heavens. In after life Glareanus won for himself considerable fame by his researches in the department of ancient geography, and Vadianus, when quite an old man, gathered around him a troop of burghers from St. Gall, full of wonder and a desire to learn, as they lay encamped, one starry night, on the summit of the Freudenberg, and spoke to them of the motion of the heavenly bodies and the laws, that govern them, and strengthened their hopes of an eternal existence in the immeasurable realms of space.

The three friends, thus closely joined in noble endeavor, lived in daily social intercourse with others, whom hereafter, when the more earnest days of manly activity have arrived, we shall find arrayed, as in the cases of Eck and Faber, among the most bitter opponents of Zwingli.

The morals of that period, as every one knows, were loose and corrupt, and only too much opportunity was afforded for indulging in pleasures of every kind, especially in a large city. For young men, left to their own guidance in the heyday of life, it was difficult to keep within proper bounds on all sides. But his love of music, that very thing so severely blamed in after times by hypocritical pietists, was the means of preserving Zwingli from every thing low and mean. His early conviction of the value of time taught him to be very sparing of it, and the lofty ideal, which floated before him and his friends, their youthful plans of future greatness, kept them unsoiled amid the swamps of temptation, till at a later period their place

was more effectually supplied by the purer influences of religion.

After a residence of two years abroad the young Switzer came back again to his native mountains, full of vigor, sound in mind and body, and amply prepared to enter upon any professional pursuit. He appears to have remained only a short time at home. The country village was little suited to the prosecution of his further designs. A situation as teacher of languages was offered him in the school of St. Martin at Basel, and he there began his public career in the year 1502. No intelligence has reached us concerning the nature of his labors. He had probably only elementary branches to teach; for the university, as formerly constituted, exerted on the teachers of the foundation-schools under its control, an influence rather paralyzing than encouraging. Nevertheless he conscientiously applied himself to his studies and associated for this purpose with Leo Judæ, who, born two years earlier than Zwingli at Rappersweier in Alsace, stood faithfully at his side in all his later course and will yet receive frequent mention in this history. He also shared with him his love of music.

But now the period had arrived, when, in the study of religious doctrine, the end and meaning of their future life began to dawn upon the minds of Zwingli and his friend. At the same time a teacher came to Basel, who was well fitted to waken their love for this science and give a right direction to their active zeal. That man was Thomas Wittenbach of Biel, hitherto professor at Tübingen.

The world had then grown weary of the corruption of the clergy, of their stupid arrogance, of the intolerance, which would restrict the divine favor to the limits of their narrow earthly horizon, and of the search after miracles, which was counted faith, although a denial of true faith, because it would grasp with the hand that which is spiritual and not to be

apprehended, except when a beam of divine grace is glowing on the altar of a pure heart. Yet only so much the more did a longing after the communication of clearer light prevail.

It is true indeed that here and there were found pious men, who in humility and childlike simplicity wrought works of love and edified their neighbors by a redeeming activity and a spotless life. But characters of this kind were suited only to peaceful, not stormy times, which called for bolder leaders. Enemies must be met on their own field, the weapons of the understanding used, and the arguments of science advanced, not in such a way however as to injure simple-minded faith. This was the manner in which Christ opposed the scepticism of the Sadducees and the sophistry of the Pharisees, and this is what is meant by that saying of his, concerning the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove. High hung this garland; but it was worthy of the sweat of the noblest.

Wittenbach knew well how to encourage his pupils to enter the lists and strive after its attainment. Leo Judæ has given authentic testimony to this effect in a letter to the council of Biel. "From your city," writes he, "came forth this man, regarded by the most learned men of that age as a true phoenix, on account of his manifold acquirements. Zwingli and I enjoyed his instructions at Basel in the year 1505. Under his guidance, from polite literature, in which he was equally at home, we passed over to the more earnest study of the Holy Scriptures. His sagacity discerned clearly beforehand the events of coming years, the overthrow of the papal doctrine of indulgences and other groundless dogmas, by which, for many centuries, Rome had held unthinking mankind in bondage. Whatever of thorough knowledge we possess, we owe it to him and must remain his debtors as long as we live."

While yet in Basel Zwingli had received the title of *Magister* (Master of the Liberal Arts,) but he never made any use of it

himself. One is our master, he was accustomed to say—Christ.

But now, in the twenty-second year of his age, he must leave Basel also, and enter on the proper business of his life. John Stucki, pastor at Glarus, died in the year 1506. Recommended probably by his uncle, perhaps by his friend Glareanus, the young man was chosen for the important post. The Bishop of Constance consecrated him to the priesthood and ratified the choice.

Through Rappersweil, where he preached his first sermon; through Wildhaus, where he read his first mass, he passed on toward the close of the year, to his new home. Glarus, the chief town of the canton, was inhabited by an active, intelligent population, full of energy and independence. The new teacher, who does not intend to act the part of an unprincipled hireling, must count on finding watchful enemies as well as friends. There is only one means, by which to maintain an erect position, under such circumstances, in a firm adherence to duty and principle, and that is an-unfailing support,—trust in a higher power, which never deserts an honest endeavor. With this resolve, under this shield, Zwingli began the practice of his calling, not at all anxious about the judgments of men, nor troubled at the remarks of the multitude. In him ruled the ardent spirit of vigorous youth, averse to every thing that smacked of devotional hypocrisy, full of life and mirth, sometimes verging even on wantonness, and yet so earnest, where the affairs of science, so profound, where those of faith, and so conscientious, where those of the congregation entrusted to his care, were concerned, or those of his country, in whose welfare and honor his heart was bound up. If on this account he was called a friend of sport; if Glareanus wrote to him gaily in monk's Latin: "I am coming to you shortly, and then we will be of good cheer and play on the jews'harp;" and if Dingnauer, who promised him, that neither envy, nor jealousy, nor the moroseness of old age,

nor gold, nor iron should cripple his friendship, believed that he must add the warning: "Watch over your heart, conceal your glowing wishes, lest joy be turned into bitter vexation;" we yet read, on the other hand, what he himself wrote to Vadianus at Vienna: "I am now resolved to devote myself to the Greek language and to be drawn away from it no more. This is not done out of vanity, for how little does pretension become me! but from the necessity of a thorough understanding of the Holy Scriptures." We find also that he wrote off the original Greek text of the Epistles of Paul in the form of a small book, in order to have it continually with him, and added in the margin the observations of the most approved commentators. In the year 1522, we hear him thus speak of the manner, in which he tried at that time to penetrate into the spirit of these records: "In my youth I made as much advance in human learning as any one of my age, and when, six or seven years ago, I devoted my whole strength to the study of the Holy Scriptures, the philosophy and theology of the controversialists threw continual difficulties in my way. At last I came to this conclusion. I thought: Thou must lay aside all these and get the meaning of God fresh from his own, simple word. Then I began to implore God for his light, and the Scripture became much clearer to me, although I read it merely, as I would have read many commentaries and interpreters." The letters written by him and to him at this time show us plainly, that those who were committed to his training, especially young men of promise, crowded around him, full of love and reverence, and that he never was weary of giving them counsel, support and recommendation in foreign countries, of watching over their progress and morals, whilst there, and of rejoicing in every evidence of talent and noble purpose and helping to turn them to practical account. Glareanus thanked him for permission to continue his studies abroad, though obliged to give up a benefice in Mollis,

where, "like a goat-herd," he had to receive a new election every year. The same friend wrote to him on another occasion: "You are always helping those, who deserve it." Argobast Strub of Vienna was about to dedicate a commendatory poem to him, when death surprised the ingenious youth and the sorrowful Vadianus sent his literary remains to his former teacher as a pledge of love from the departed one. Peter Tschudi wrote to him from Paris, "You are like a tutelary god to us;" and his brother Aegidius in Basel begged him, "Help, that I may be called back to you again, for with no one have I wished rather to live than with you." Valentine Tschudi, the cousin of the two just named, was yet more strongly attached to their beloved master. "Never will I cease," he expresses himself, "to be thankful for your kindnesses, especially when a quartan fever troubled me of late, after my return from abroad, and because, on another occasion, when I had left my books behind in Basel, you, although I would not out of modesty venture to be troublesome, called me to you, encouraged me, and offered me your books, your assistance and your influence. And thus your good will toward all students was extended to me also and that not in a general way, for, with special regard to my wants, your extensive and varied stores of knowledge lay at my service." This Valentine Tschudi and Ludwig Rosch, "a yet unbearded youth of the best kind," Zwingli had formerly recommended to Vadianus in Vienna for the study of polite literature. He did a similar favor for his brother Jacob, who "was possessed of extraordinary gifts," and he charged his friend "to clip, to plane and to polish the country youth as long as it was necessary, and should he ever kick at it," he concluded, "you may throw him into prison, until the fit is over."

Thus did this spirited man endeavor to stir up all around him to improvement, and exerted the same influence over the older generation as he did over the young. With the venerable

Aebli, who on the first march to Cappel prevented the shedding of fraternal blood, he formed a close friendship. Of his own accord he traveled to Basel to become personally acquainted with the celebrated Erasmus and gained his undivided esteem, for, at a later period, he wrote to him, "Hail to the Swiss people, whose character particularly pleases me, whose studies and morals you and those like you will improve!" And the judge, Falk of Freiburg, who was, it is true, a violent partisan of that period, but at the same time a patron of science, offered him, in case he desired to prosecute his studies for a season in quiet, a beautiful country-seat, which he possessed in the neighborhood of Pavia, with the gratuitous enjoyment of its revenues for two years. Nevertheless, it is possible that he was actuated by the concealed design of winning over a powerful champion to his own purposes.

With all the activity of his spirit, Zwingli appears, during his stay in Glarus, to have kept within the limits of the established church-doctrine in his public discourses. In the Explanation of his Final Discourses, he himself places the first beginning of his attempt at the reformation of the church in the year 1516, the same, in which he had already received a call to Einsiedeln. He must first stand firm on his own feet, before he can begin the attack. Hitherto, the Holy Scriptures had been his daily and nightly study, and he knew the greater part of them literally by heart. Before this, he had made his debut as a political reformer, but of his doings in this sphere, we will only be able to judge rightly, when we have taken a view of the relations of the confederates to their neighbors in Upper Italy.

Long before the original articles of the confederacy, the alliance of the three Forest Cantons of Dec. 9, 1315, were concluded, the highways over Mt. Gotthard had become the channels of an active commerce between Germany and Italy. When

they were opened for this purpose cannot be clearly shown, but they were certainly so used in the twelfth century. The inhabitants of Uri, and partly also those of Schwytz and Unterwalden supplied the Italian markets with their cattle, and the mountain-valley of Urseren flourished particularly by means of this trade. But they had dangerous neighbors in the turbulent Lavinians on the south side of Gotthard. Here the Swiss and Italians met each other in hostile attitude at an early period; for the first time, as far as we know, in the year 1331. The Lavinians had plundered some merchants on their way to Switzerland, as well as harrassed the people of Urseren, who drove their cattle to Bellinzona. They were supported in this course by their landlords, the Visconti, Dukes of Milan. Uri called on Schwytz and Unterwalden for help, and on Zurich also, although it was not then included in the confederacy. The allies marched out and pressed on to Faido, spreading universal terror. The Vicar General of Como mediated a peace; but from that time forth we find the confederates continually entangled in the affairs of Upper Italy. Campaigns of a greater or less extent are undertaken, and treaties struck, broken, and again renewed. The chief business seems to have been the settlement of boundaries.

Perhaps it would have been better, if all that lay on the further side of Gotthard and the Bundtner Alps had remained without any direct communication with Switzerland. There is too wide a difference between the Italian and the German character. But the struggle to secure for their chief products an advantageous market had greater weight with the three shepherd cantons. Sustained by their confederation they soon endeavored, sword in hand, to extend their boundaries southward, and in 1476 Livinen came under the acknowledged sovereignty of Uri, and in 1500 Bellinzona with the adjoining country under that of the Three Cantons. In 1503 these changes were con-

firmed by France, which then had the upper hand in Lombardy.

This, and not as yet a corrupt liking for mercenary service, was the original occasion of the campaigns of the confederates in Italy. The battles of Arbedo and Gierniko were fought in support of brethren whom they were bound by oath to help. But by long-continued habit, the view, that what was passing on the other side of Gotthard could not be indifferent to their own land, took firm root in the minds of the Swiss statesmen, and therefore it was, that the scandalous game of intrigue and bribery, begun by Louis XI., by which France aimed at the destruction of the Swiss national character, had a good opportunity of unfolding itself on Italian ground, where France under Charles VIII. and Louis XII. contrived to increase her own power, by arraying Switzers against Switzers. Nevertheless, there were yet, even in the beginning of the sixteenth century, some among the Swiss soldiers, engaged in the Italian campaigns, who were animated by motives nobler than a thirst for gold or plunder. The duty of upholding sworn treaties, and the hope of working out a lasting peace for a frontier so exposed to invasion might have prompted the more distinguished, but very often the common soldiers were only stimulated by a love for weapons streaming with blood

The betrayal of Ludovico Sforza, surnamed Il Moro, at Novara, in 1501, had indeed greatly shaken the confidence, hitherto nearly universal, in the fidelity and honor of the Swiss; but even at home indignation was awakened by it, a severe examination instituted, and the chief actor executed at Altorf. Indeed it seems generally to have roused the better feelings of the nation. An oath was demanded against the acceptance of pensions and mercenary service under foreign lords; and a levy was not only refused to the French ambassadors, who had come into the country with new bribes, but their safe-conduct even was recalled.

Although such things were enacted by their diet, yet corrupt leaders again practised their lures, and a crowd of reckless youth again gave ear to them. But when France, now strongly established in her domination over Italy by the repeated aid of these deserters, began by degrees to treat them more coldly, and in the end, with contempt even, they appear to have become more wise. Instead of remaining quiet within their own borders, they gave free rein to a growing national hatred, which the Emperor and then the Pope, Julius II. well understood how to turn to their own profit.

Indulgences, blessings, consecrated gifts from the Papal Chair were held up before their eyes by their countryman, the cunning, eloquent, indefatigable Cardinal Schinner, whilst the knightly Emperor reminded them that it would be nobler to aid a plundered prince to regain what he had lost than to stand by the haughty robber; and the young Duke of Milan, son of that Ludovico Sforza, since dead, who was taken prisoner at Novara and afterwards escaped to Austria, promised them, in return for their help, the most profitable alliance and the possession of Lugano and Locarno. And here for once, both private advantage and public honor seemed to run together, and hence resulted an expedition, more numerous and better organized than any former one, not under foreign banners, but under their own, and led by able and experienced commanders, the so-called March to Pavia. This was the first campaign in which Zwingli was personally present.

In the ardent years of youth the national love of battle glowed even in his bosom. From the most eminent authors of Greece and Rome he had learned much of war and the history of war. He himself tells us with what eagerness he pored over the campaigns of Alexander, narrated by Curtius, and those of Cæsar, written by his own hand. But he did not rest content with deeds of arms merely. The nature of the countries and

the character of the people were full of interest to him. He inquired into the causes of wars, and considered their operations and results. In a letter to a friend he thus advises, "Read Sallust's description of the wars of Jugurtha and Cataline's conspiracy. See in the former the insolence, the artifices and the lust of power of a single aristocrat and how far the love of money can lead; in the latter, what gifts can do, and how they can embolden those who are bribed by them. Let Appian of Alexandria then picture to you the distraction of citizens and civil war, with banishment and its consequences. He understands well how to relate briefly every thing that is noteworthy. Whoever begins, can not lay his book down, until he has finished it."

We are by no means to regard Zwingli as an advocate of war. It appeared to him a calamity; but as a calamity, which cannot always be avoided, for which one must be prepared, and that the times of its coming are determined in the plans of superhuman wisdom

Holding such views and persuaded that the expedition was lawful—in the line of right and duty, he now, in 1512, followed the banner of the Canton Glarus into Italy. According to ancient custom, this was the duty of the pastor of the chief congregation, for where the banner waved, there was the highest power of the country. To every one in the warlike assembly gathered around it, his voice was boldly lifted up. In order to counsel and to guide, it was necessary, that the most intelligent should not be wanting there.

In a Latin letter to his friend Vadianus in Vienna, Zwingli himself has thus narrated the events of this campaign:

"Since an evil report about the Confederates has been spread far and wide, and since even that, which the result proves to have been just and innocent, is abused and misrepresented, I have undertaken to give you a picture, short indeed, but true, of the

actual condition of our affairs. Passing over the terms of a treaty of alliance, concluded between the Most Holy Vicegerent of Christ, Julius II., and the Confederates, I would only state, that the King of the French (to whom, even while attacking the Church of Christ, some one gave the flattering title, "Most Christian") wearied out the Venetians by protracted war, conquered in several hard-fought battles, and captured or laid waste their towns; and also that he took up arms against the anointed Head of the Church; set up, under the guidance of a wicked demon, an antipope, as he is styled, and robbed the Holy See of many large cities, among which was Bologna, mother of the sciences and nurse of the common law. When, at the close of the Easter festival, the august King of Spain beheld the ship of Peter tossing in danger on the threatening waves, the condition of the Church filled him with sorrow. As quick as possible he gathered an army and sent it to the aid of the Papal troops, who since winter had lingered in Middle Italy. Full of valor and skilled in military science, they approached Ravenna by forced marches. But the French tyrant also sent out a strong force to meet the Spaniards and their allies, the Venetians."

"When the enemy came in sight, the Spaniards did not decline battle. They had with them an engineer, possessed of the talent of an Archimedes and a Dædalus. He had invented light sickle-wagons, on each of which stood a small mortar. These they pushed before them. The French army was commanded by the *Grandmaitre*.* In front he placed the Swabian *landsknechts*; behind these, the Gascons, and a large body of cavalry, on the wings. The most select of these, himself at their head, formed the corps of observation. At the signal of battle, a shower of red-hot balls was discharged by the Spanish army. The *landsknechts* were startled. 'Why do ye stand?'

* Gaston of Foix, Duke of Nemours.

—the French marshal is said to have cried out. ‘Will ye wait to be shot down? O that I had the brave Confederates with me yet!—they who at the sight of any enemy roared like raging lions, fell on him, and pressed into him! Forwards! Whip them, whom you have often whipped before! Set your swords and halberds against the balls!’ The *landsknechts* begin to advance. And now, the Spaniards put fire to the old wheeled-wagons; and, sheltered by them, press on against the centre. A terrific *melee* ensues. From sheer fatigue they must often rest and repair their broken ranks. The battle lasts from morning till evening. Already the greater part of the *landsknechts* are killed, and the rest fly. The cavalry also, and the Gascons waver. Eight thousand victims cover the field. The *Grand-maitre* looks toward heaven, gnashes his teeth, and cries out, “The victory of the Spaniards shall not be bloodless, or I die this day.” He puts spurs to his horse. His trusty followers come after. Bravely fighting, he falls. But the enemy, who expected no new attack, are thrown into disorder. The French again press forward, conquer, and take possession of the city. Night only ends the conflict. Hannibal, after the victory at Cannæ, spread no greater terror over Rome and Italy. The fear of the French rule produced universal lamentation. Comfort and assistance were begged for on all sides. The Confederates, in view of this state of things, think, what a dangerous example it would be, if such a raging tyrant were allowed to make war on the Common Mother of all faithful Christians. They quickly assemble and resolve with zeal, to put the affairs of the Church and of Italy into a better condition. A legate of the cardinal (Schinner) makes his appearance, begging and imploring them by their treaty-obligations to set out at once; yet he can offer no more than a gold-florin to the man. It is scarcely credible; but in six days, notwithstanding, 20,000 chosen infantry are brought together, who immediately rush

through Graubunden, over the Adige, and down the narrow defiles to Verona, then in the possession of the *landsknechts* and the Gascons. On the approach of the Confederates they evacuate the city. The Cardinal again appears in the Swiss army and is received with many marks of honor. Intelligence reaches us from the Venetians, who soon come up with 800 mail-clad troopers and 500 light-horse. Full of glad anticipation they behold the imposing array of the Confederates. We advance to a river* (whose name I have not learned), on the other side of which the powerful French army stands strongly intrenched. The bridge, behind which Valleggio lies, was defended by three massive towers. The artillery of the Venetians compels the French to fall back. They take with them what provision they can raise. The army advances to Pontevico, where the enemy again makes a momentary stand. Here a castle is built in the middle of the bridge,† up to which point it had been broken down. In the presence of the foe, but under the protection of the Venetian cannon, a number of volunteers swim over and fetch back the boats, which had been carried to the other side. A bridge is quickly constructed. But by the time the army crossed over, the Frenchmen are in full flight. Only a few shots from the field-pieces are sent after them. Conscious that the state of their affairs is desperate, deprived of the support of the Germans, knowing the enemy with whom they have to deal, believing themselves secure no where, they take refuge in Pavia and await the result. The boldest of the Confederate youth had cut off from them a considerable herd of cattle, on which the army could have subsisted for a long time. Ulric von Sax, leader of the Confederates, just as prudent as he was active, resolves to besiege Pavia for a while, because he thinks it not yet advisable to take it by storm. The French

* The Mincio.

† Over the Oglio.

still endeavor to prevent a passage over the Po.* Here an incident happens almost as incredible as it is amusing. In the French camp were 800 *landsknechts*, survivors of the defeat at Ravenna. Some of our men swim over the Po, in order to take measures for the fastening of a bridge. The *landsknechts* sally out to prevent this. All the youth of the Confederate army, skilled in swimming, running, jumping, cast off their clothes and, halberd in hand, leap into the Po, to fight with enemies, of whom they say, 'Would that God had given us such for a daily exercise in the art of war!' In fact, they raised a warlike laugh as often as they caught a glimpse of the *landsknechts*, not because they esteemed them cowardly and despicable antagonists, but because they were found by them on the side of the enemy and beaten oftener than they conquered. Although the *landsknechts* saw the naked, white bodies, they still fled, giving a free passage over the river. The Confederates now marched on to Pavia, which was surrounded and taken in a few days, in the following manner. Some single combats had preceded. Six Frenchmen had called out four confederates and were killed. Two others challenged a chamois-hunter from the Canton of Glarus. This pleased him. One he shot down with his gun; the other he attacked with the sword. The French, trusting the walls as little as their courage, meditate flight and wish to cover it by the *landsknechts*, whom they address thus, "You see, brave comrades, be it chance or be it fate, the luck of war has forsaken France. We must think of retreat, if we cannot count on victory. Our camp is full of despair. Your former boldness must expect to-day the most illustrious trial. Act up to your reputation! We, the heavy and the light armed, will occupy that part of the city, which stretches along the Mincio,† before the enemy presses in there and cuts off the

* He confounds it with the Adda, which empties into the Po.

† Again a change of names. The Ticino is meant.

way of escape. Thus will we secure the safety of all. If we cannot conquer now, we must try to keep our lives to do it hereafter, as Demosthenes says. So that no one may suspect us of treachery we leave with you the artillery, the pledge of our hope." The credulous foot-soldiers (*landsknechts*), trusting their fair speeches, permitted them to march out. But the French have scarcely placed the Mincio (Ticino) behind them, when they take to flight and leave the *landsknechts* in the lurch. As soon as the citizens of Pavia observe this, they promise, on condition that they are exempted from pillage, a month's pay to each individual in the Confederate and Venetian camps. The former thirsted for a contest with the *landsknechts*, but this desire was yet to cost them much bitter sweat. The clumsy artillery of the besieging army was drawn up in the park, outside of the city, under the guard of a hundred picked men, from different corps. It was not yet noon, when the women and the more aged citizens, unsuspected by the foot-soldiers, appeared on the walls and let down scaling ladders over them. The hundred, employed as a watch in the park, with some others who joined them, hasten up, climb the walls, and without the knowledge of the rest of the army, try to penetrate into the heart of the city. But the *landsknechts* have artillery, and they only their short weapons and their fiery courage. Had not the narrow streets checked the former, the Confederates would all have been slain. They try to conceal themselves for the moment behind projections and sheltering walls; but then they suddenly rush out, make themselves masters of two pieces, and turn them against the enemy, who were thus gradually driven back. And now one of the combatants mounts the wall, and proclaims victory and the capture of the city. It is not believed; a stratagem is feared, and it is forbidden to approach the wall. At last, encouraged by the prolonged stentorian cry, some venture to climb up. The *lands-*

knechts resist in vain. They become wearied out and are driven into the river. Of 800, only 50 are taken alive. Meanwhile the Confederates march through the gate. The Venetian horsemen pursue the fugitives, but can only overtake a few. Anon, a shout resounds through the city, 'Julius, the Swiss are conquerors.' On the third day, the garrison of the castle surrenders. Eight battering-rams, ten culverins, and ten pieces of smaller artillery are among the trophies. Several had previously belonged to the Venetians. And now at sight of them they embrace and wet them with tears and kiss the escutcheon of St. Mark. So much had the disgraceful loss pained them. The remaining towns send embassies and give in their adherence to the Cardinal and the Confederates. Even Genoa is conquered by the Spaniards, and Asti acknowledges, begging for peace with tied hands, the power of the Holy League. All Italy, the seacoasts of Liguria, and the Lombards are made free by the Confederates. 'We owe to them,' they confess, 'what liberated Greece once owed to Titus Quinctius.' The sound of the trumpet re-echoes through cities, towns, and villages; and bells ring. Scholars, clergy and preachers proclaim from the pulpit; 'Ye are God's people. Ye have humbled the enemies of the Bride of the Crucified.' The army, tarrying some days in Pavia, suppresses a rebellion, which I pass over, because the matter was brought to a happy issue. Then messengers hasten to all parts, in order to bring about a settlement of the affairs of Milan. The Confederate Diet is assembled in Baden, and the following embassies arrive there: legates from his Holiness, Pope Julius II., from the Emperor, from the Cardinal of St. Potentiana (Schinner), legates by proxy of the King of Spain, from the King of France (these half by stealth), from the Duke of Savoy, from the Duke of Lorraine, from the Venetians, from the Milanese; all bent on furthering their own wishes and aims. Here the foresight and craftiness of men

must be studied, how they try to bring each other into difficulty, in order to prosecute their own advantage more securely amid the confusion; and how they pretend to desire one thing, in order to gain the contrary. The Emperor in particular ties the knot. He had resolved in secret to restore Maximilian, son of the banished Duke, Ludovico Sforza, to the princely seat. To the astonishment of all, he comes out with the assertion that Lombardy, as a fief of the empire, durst receive its ruler from no one but the head of the empire. This gave little satisfaction to the Confederates. "The Emperor," say they, "had promised to assist us with cavalry; but he went no further than fair words. We, the Pope, and the Venetians have borne the burden of the war. And now, he, who did nothing, comes to carry off the prize." Yet it does not break out into an open quarrel. Another embassy arrives from the Holy Father, Julius, and the cardinals. It brings to the Confederates the title of honor, "Liberators of the Church." Most welcome is this title to them, and most welcome what is added, "They may ask what they please, the most sacred will be granted to them." The greater part, yea, all ask for the privilege of bearing the image of the Crucified on their banner; the men of Glarus wish the risen Savior. In the end the resolution is passed to bring back Maximilian, the son of Louis, to the throne of his father. I would have written to you more fully, my dear Vadianus, for this is not the hundreth part, had not a pressure of business prevented me. Judge of this hasty letter with indulgence. It has been the work of not more than three hours."

This, the earliest historical production of Zwingli, that has come down to us, is translated as literally as possible, in order to show the opinion then entertained by him, of political and ecclesiastical relations, his strong youthful spirit, which delighted in the chances of war, and his study of the military art

and history of the warlike Romans. The latter is seen in the occasional, mostly well chosen, technical terms, the insertion of short speeches, and the concise, graphic mode of representation. The defective knowledge of geography displayed need not be wondered at, since maps, those indispensable helps, were wholly wanting in that age. In his eyes the Romish church is surrounded with the highest glory, and its sacred head, the Pope, worthy of reverence almost divine. He regards the expedition to Pavia as lawful, exults with national pride in the laurels won, and even the sight of disorders among the haughty conquerors appears to make only a transient impression upon him. But with keen glance he discovers the moving spring of the diplomatic transactions, the elements of discord, and the quarter, from which the most destructive inroads on the life of the republic were to be feared.

For two years it had become plain to him, with what danger this impure game of false statesmanship, this system of bribes, frauds, flatteries, and intimidations threatened the Confederacy, exposed to it on all sides. Two poems, written about the year 1510 or 1511, "The Labyrinth" and "A poetic Fable concerning an Ox and several Beasts," are to be received partly as pictures of the time, and partly as lessons of warning. Vigorous, rich in thought, original in conception, but somewhat rude in language, they exhibit a row of well-drawn single figures, without light and shade, rather than a group disposed by art, and owe more to the exercise of the understanding than to the impulses of the imagination. They deserve to be handed down to posterity only as the productions of an author, who has done greater things. The second winds up in the following nervous style:

"Where Bribery can show its face,
There Freedom has no dwelling place.
And such a blessing Freedom is,
That boldly Sparta, as we wis,

Unto Hydarnes gave reply :

‘ Freedom must stand by Bravery

Sheltered and guarded evermore.’

Amid the bloody ranks of war,

Amid the fearful dance of death,

Let gleaming swords drawn from the sheath,

And sharp-edged spears and axes be

Thy guardians, golden Liberty.

But, where a brutish heart is met

And by a tempting bribe beset,

There noble Freedom, glorious boon !

And name and blood of friends too soon

Are cheaply prized and rudely torn

The oaths in holy covenant sworn.”

In Italy, the honorable closing act of the year 1512 now took place. At the gates of Milan, in presence of the imperial, papal and Spanish deputies, the burgomaster Schmied of Zurich handed over to the young duke Maximilian Sforza the keys of his conquered capital, and the bailiff Schwarzmauer of Zug received him with a Latin oration. It were well, if the intervention of the Confederates in Italian affairs had ended here, and a strong national resolve, to keep what they had won, and leave what is foreign to the care of foreigners, had gained the ascendancy. But already baits were again thrown out by the Pope, the Emperor and France, and were soon followed by scenes, more stormy, more disgraceful, more tragic, out of which the battles of Novara and Marignano rise in bloody trappings.

For several years the eyes of Zwingli had been fully opened to the destructive influence, which foreign mercenary service exerted on a free state. Whether he accompanied the banner of Glarus twice, or only once more into Italy cannot now be accurately determined. Bullinger alone states that he was present at Novara, confounding probably this expedition with one of an earlier date. It is certain, however, that he took part in the campaign of 1515, for, six days previous to the

battle of Marignano, he preached in the square before the town-hall in Monza. "Had we followed his counsel," says Werner Steiner, who at the side of his father, the landamman of Zug, listened to the sermon,—“much less blood would have been shed, and the Confederates saved from great harm. But dissension reigned in their ranks, which were crippled by French gold and promises, and they, who did remain faithful, lacked *one* leader around whom to rally.

The terrific battle of Marignano had ended in a dreadful defeat. Voices of lamentation, reproach, and repentance met those, who found their way back to their native land and resounded here and there also from the pulpit. Zwingli, who himself had been an eye-witness of the whole calamity, believed it his duty, as teacher in the chief-town of the little republic, not to keep silent.

Before men of rank and influence, who even in Glarus, though compelled for the moment to remain quiet, soon gave themselves up again, at first cautiously but afterwards without shame, to the seductions of renewed bribery, sticking to that conqueror, who before had rewarded them so gloriously, and began to further the interests of France, instead of those of their own country, he unveiled, without fear or restraint, the ruinous consequences of this scandalous trade, laid bare its secret hiding places and tricks, and encouraged the better spirit of the people to a wholesome resistance. But notwithstanding, the cunning seducers knew how to restrain themselves, and in spite of all, they gained firmer footing, and although the Perpetual Peace, lately concluded with France, did not give them all they sought for, they still received by it a more secure position for further intrigues.

But at length their hatred broke out into open flame against the bold, troublesome speaker—the preacher, who dabbled in politics—the farmer's son of a remote district, who had the pre-

sumption to attack the great ones of the land, the old patrician families, and who, though himself not pure, nevertheless cast blame on others. Full of avarice, envy and hypocrisy, the proud, the fault-finders and the spiritual dwarfs met together. They whispered, fanned their rage, shook their heads, reviled, threatened; in a short time they had no rest, till he wished himself away; and hence, at a later period, he thus wrote to Vadianus: "Nothing else could have induced me to change my situation but the intrigues of the French. I am now at Einsiedeln. I would tell you what injury the French faction has done me, if I did not think that you knew it already. I had to take part in affairs, and have suffered and learned to suffer much evil."

We will now examine the charges, that were brought against Zwingli, keeping steadily in view the position as to science, character, and fitness for his calling, which he occupied, when he left Glarus. As the indispensable fruits of a republican form of government we look for freedom to be good and true, decision of character, and the unrestricted development of every nobler feeling and of every kind of profound knowledge. When it protects and fosters such tendencies, and makes good its title to an honorable place among other forms. But when it fails so to do, because of democratic, or aristocratic degeneracy, it then writes its own condemnation. Zwingli began his labors as a republican, in whom the citizen was not lost in the priest. And this we must always bear in mind, so as not to do him injustice, when we see him working as resolutely in the state as in the church. Whether this course can be defended in our time does not concern us. It seemed well in his age, and that it is our business now to describe. The republican feeling of equality gave him, moreover courage to face every opponent with boldness, yet always with argument. He honored the old families, when they practised the old virtues. The man of rank, who

sinned against his country, was in his eyes more worthy of punishment than a common person. Meanwhile these views found too much sympathy in the free Canton of Glarus, to allow his enemies to attack him, except in an indirect way. They harped, therefore, so much the more on the third charge, that he even, the fault-finder himself, was not innocent. "Why," say they, "does he rail out continually against French intrigue? Only because he has sold himself to the Papal interest. Is he not in close league with Cardinal Schinner? Is he not his spy, his minion, commissioned by him to distribute the presents of the Pope? Does he not receive letters, testimonials of honor, from the Nuncio? Yes, he—even he, who calls us takers of bribes, draws a yearly pension from the Pope."

And certainly it was so, but with this difference—an honorable intention on his part, and a base one on theirs. The scientific and practical qualifications of Schinner and his clear insight into the relations of life were highly esteemed by Zwingli, who looked on him as a strong champion in the contest against French corruption. And, in truth, this son of a poor shepherd in Valais was no common man. By talent and industry he had raised himself to the bishopric of that Canton. Defeated by an opposing party he had to flee, but was already known to the Pope, from whom he received a cardinal's hat. Of course he now labored to advance the interests of Rome and the Empire among the Confederates, but at the time when Zwingli became acquainted with him, not by such disreputable means, as afterwards. Any separation from the church was as yet far from the thoughts of the Reformer, although he already desired the correction of existing abuses. What was more natural for him than to seek to win over to his assistance those, who could exert a direct influence in Rome, the Cardinal and the Nuncio? And indeed, a few years later, when he came out manfully against the politics of Rome, he yet distinguished between the

person of the Cardinal and his cause, and true to earlier feelings of friendship, defended the former, as long as it was possible. "They,"—wrote he to Myconius—"who blame me for yielding too much to the Cardinal, I suspect are only friends and well-wishers in appearance, and censure me for that which, though it were not altogether reasonable, ought to be allowed on the score of friendship. Rather would I err in thinking well of a bad man, if I did not know him to be bad, than in thinking ill of a good one." The fifty florins, which he drew yearly on the order of the Pope, were laid out only in books and scientific helps, needed for the better exercise of his calling. This pension he gave up of his own accord at a later day.

The main charge, however, was directed against his moral conduct. Not merely gloomy hypocrites, habitual fault-finders, who took offence at every joke, to which his gay humor may have prompted him, and condemned his love of music and society, but unprejudiced, worthy men also, regretted that his attentions to the women were not always kept within proper bounds. It were idle to deny, what he himself openly confessed, when he bewailed the errors of his youth and strove to do them away by redoubled zeal and faithfulness to duty. Some excuse may be found for him in the customs of his age. The failings of superiors were then treated with indulgence, and a transgression of this kind received but a mild sentence at the bar of public opinion. His honorable dismissal from Glarus, given to him only with reluctance, shows, also, that in spite of occasional short-comings, his character was held in general esteem. Certainly Catholic writers, since then, and even in modern times, have sought to cast a stain on his later work by laying undue stress on this weakness of the Reformer's youth.*

* Even in representations designed for *the people* such malevolent charges are found. These exaggerations are to be corrected not by concealment, but by a candid statement of the facts.

The simple question may be put to them, 'Are not Augustine and Jerome counted among your most distinguished saints? And yet you know, or ought to know, what they have confessed—things that Zwingli had never to renounce.'

He was now past his thirty-first year, and in the full vigor of manhood. His national sympathies, the extent of his knowledge, his courage and ability were well known to the inhabitants of Glarus and to many also beyond the limits of the little Canton. As to matters of faith, the struggle was yet going on in his own bosom. Here, on the one hand, stood the Church, to whose priesthood he had been consecrated, with her stiff, unbending dogmas, and her stale, lifeless forms, yet esteemed holy, to touch which was regarded as an unpardonable crime in the individual; and there, on the other, eternal truth, superior to the narrow restrictions of human power, raised above decretals and the decisions of Councils, drawing to herself all noble spirits with an irresistible charm, of all objects the most worthy of pursuit and untiring effort—and besides these, a third, easily overlooked by the inexperienced youth—by the thinker in his quiet chamber, but not by the practical man, who must mingle directly with the people—the necessity of a higher, a more infallible authority than his own, an authority acceptable to all good men and acknowledged by all. It was well for him that he knew how to connect this with the results of his investigation. Not by ignoring the understanding, not by a cowardly retreat, where others ventured freely to inquire, not by an assent, that feared to ask for proof, lest one should cry out, "Wo to the heretic!"—No! but by boldly examining for himself and using his reason, he only arrived at the more settled conviction of the truth of the Holy Scripture and of the divine power of the faith built thereon. "Take good, strong wine," wrote he to the nuns in Oedenbach, at a later period, "it tastes good to the healthy, makes him glad of

heart, strengthens him, warms his blood. But he, who lies sick of a distemper, or fever, and cannot taste it, much less drink it, wonders how those who are healthy can drink it. The fault is not in the wine, but in the disease. So the Divine Word is altogether right in itself, and revealed for the good of men. But he, who cannot bear it, nor understand it, and will not receive it, is sick. Thus let them be answered, who wickedly say, God would not have his Word *understood*," (we must subject reason to faith) "as if God wished to expose us to danger."

In order to attain completely that firm ground, where settled conviction is the result of the union of faith and knowledge, he could scarcely have done a wiser thing, than to withdraw into the more quiet retreat, which was opened for him in the neighboring Einsiedeln.

Far and wide, throughout the Confederacy and the surrounding countries, was spread the name and glory of this monastery, which, like St. Gall and Muri, was subject to the Rule of Benedict. It dates its origin as far back as the ninth century, and was built on that spot, occupied in the beginning by the hermit's cell of Meinhard, a German count. A legend of a voice, that fell from heaven, when in the following century the Bishop of Constance was dedicating a new chapel there, and of a song of angels repeatedly and distinctly heard, gave rise to the yearly festival of the "Consecration of the Angels," which, when it happened on a Sunday, as it did every seventh year, was celebrated with increased splendor. The story of Meinhard's death and the discovery of his murderers by means of ravens, who followed them, survived among the traditions of the people, and the miracle being accredited by Pope Leo VIII., and the power of granting plenary indulgences allowed to the monastery, vast crowds of pilgrims were attracted thither. By their offerings and the donations of the great it became wealthy. The abbot enjoyed the rank of a Prince, and the monks, as a

body, were descended from noble families. They were a proud, irritable race, and could talk as much almost about the history of their quarrels as of their pious exercises. Conrad of Hohenrechberg, who, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, stood at their head, troubled himself little about incense and choral singing, and thought it a wicked thing in his relations to have forced him to take the cowl. He took a knightly pleasure in the chase, and his heart leapt at the sight of a drawn sword. To cunning and hypocrisy his nature was averse. Whoever was open, simple, and sincerely pious found a friend in him. For learned men he had a great esteem, but, from lack of elementary knowledge, was not able to follow their investigations. This he modestly confessed. The reading of the mass he avoided as often as it was possible, and was free to say, "If Christ be in the bread, then indeed I know not how highly you prize yourselves; but I, poor monk, am not worthy to look on him once, and hence decline to offer him. Is he not there?—wo is me! if I offer bread, instead of God, and suffer the people to adore it." When disputes ran too high, he sometimes broke them off with the words, "Why so much talk? Now and at my last hour, I say with David—*Have mercy, O God, upon me, according to thy loving-kindness. Enter not into judgment with thy servant.* More I do not wish to know. He was a diamond, unpolished, it is true, and carelessly set, but always powerful enough to prevent any interference in the government of his foundation.

At his side, Theobald of Geroldseck, filled the influential post of Administrator. Zwingli himself writes of him: "His share of knowledge is quite moderate, but he knows the value of learning, and particularly seeks intercourse with those, who are possessed of it." By the aid of such persons he desired to increase the prosperity of the monastery, for the advantage and maintenance of whose privileges, he was clothed with power.

He was glad therefore to learn that Zwingli was able to accept a call, and in fact an agreement was entered into by the attorneys of the two parties on the 14 April, 1516, at Pfaffikon, on Lake Zurich, in consequence of which Zwingli undertook the office of preacher and pastor, in the capacity of vicar to the people's priest at Einsiedeln, for which boarding at the convent-table, 20 florins at the quarter-fastings, the revenues arising from the penny-offering and requiems, and his own share of the confession-fees were guaranteed to him, and the first complete benefice at the disposal of the Administrator besides. Nevertheless, at their own urgent request, he still remained pastor of his congregation in Glarus, and discharged his duties there by the help of a vicar.

In the summer of the same year, trained as he already was in the school of the world, he entered into the quiet shades of the cloister. It can scarcely be expected that he will remain there long. First of all, let us take a view of monastic life on its most favorable side, as a school of self-denial, as a place of refuge for more profound study, as a field for the exercise of practical charity. In all these respects it has no doubt served valuable ends. And who will deny that, in times when the will of the strong would endure no restraint, when bloody revenge was thought to be a duty, and when iron bodies, broken by no excess, added deeds of violence to deeds of violence, a milder spirit was awakened in the walls of the cloister, and that pride was humbled there, and self-will subdued?—that in the *God's peace*, which protected its environs, the mechanic, as well as the peasant, found labor and encouragement? And who does not acknowledge the services rendered by particular monasteries, especially those of the Benedictines, in the preservation and multiplication of rare manuscripts—the works of the ancients, that had survived the downfall of the Western Empire and the irruption of barbarian hordes? And even in later

times, in our own country, who will not freely own his indebtedness to a Kopp in Muri, a Van der Meer in Rheinau, and the monks of the neighboring St. Blaise,—a Herrgott, Neugart, Eichhorn, and the Abbot Gerbert himself, for a knowledge of the diplomacy and history of the Middle Ages? Who does not honor the Augustines of Mt. St. Bernard, the Gray Sisters and the excellent schools of particular monasteries?

But then, on the other side, who will not admit that indolence, false views of life, narrow-mindedness, hypocrisy, and secret and impure practices found a home in a multitude of these establishments? In Zwingli's days, these dark features were most prominent and, we may even say, altogether prevailed. To prove this, not only Protestant, but enough of Catholic witnesses also are at hand. It was well for a man of his spirit and aspirations to spend a few years in the quiet cells of the cloister for the completion of his theological studies, especially since he was exempt from the duty of wasting time in empty ceremonial rites. But after this end was attained, it was easy to foresee that he would again wish himself beyond the narrow walls.

To this the peculiar character of the monastery of Einsiedeln, as a far-famed place of pilgrimage, contributed. In general, there is little to admire in the disposition of any one, who does not find his soul elevated in places hallowed by departed greatness. A noble feeling lay at the bottom of the expeditions to the Holy Sepulchre during the Middle Ages, although they partook of all the rudeness of the time that produced them; and even yet, how many spots are there in the land of Palestine, that awaken, in the bosom of the traveler, meditations, in which earnestness and sorrow mingle. On fields of battle, in haunts, where ruled the leaders and the teachers of mankind, memory works with double power, and even around graves known only to perishing tradition, there lingers for some an imperishable

charm. No censure therefore on pilgrimages that spring from such deep impulses!

But when the hand of man ventures to write down in such a place: "Here is plenary absolution from guilt and punishment!" when the mortal will forestall the eternal judge, and by the fancy of expiation obtained through such a pilgrimage, the frivolty of the sinner is directly enhanced and the perpetration of grosser crimes encouraged; when money rings in the sanctuary, in whose courts a market is opened for relics and consecrated amulets—who can be angry, if a feeling of indignation flashes through the mind of the clear-sighted thinker, as well as through the believing heart of the truly pious?

But Zwingli was now compelled to witness frequent scenes of this kind. And in what troubled shapes, did not the events of the day, the delusion of the crowd, and the avarice of those who made a gain of them, array themselves, when in the stillness of the evening or the night, the Gospel opened to him its fountains of light, warmth, and living sacrifice! No doubt this conviction of the unworthiness of this trade, carried on with lost men, was confirmed, and the impulse to come out at once and maintain stout battle against all these powers of darkness, more and more strengthened. Though somewhat before, yet now more than ever the feeling, that such a conflict must come, paved his way; the eyes of thousands were seeking some, who would undertake it, and were turned with desire to every one, gifted with a resolute spirit; and many friendly voices told him, that on his efforts the hopes of the father-land chiefly rested. "This is he"—said John Echslin in Stein to his friend Fabricius—"of whom I cannot say enough,—he, who towers above all other Swiss,—he, who has spread around him here a better civilization." "He"—the German Nesenus wrote to him—"who has humbled our monks, those spiritual tyrants, has done more for the true doctrine of Christ, than he who has beaten the

ferocious Turks. Go on, my Zwingli, in the work begun for the blessing of your nation." "You show us"—is contained in a letter of Rhenanus from Basel—"the true doctrine of Christ, sketched intuitively, as it were, on a tablet; you inform us, that Christ was sent into the world for this purpose—to communicate to us the will of his Father; that he commands us to despise earth with its riches, its honors, its power, its pleasures and every thing of this kind, and seek after the heavenly fatherland; that he teaches us peace, unity and all the lovely charities of life (nothing else is christianity), as of old, Plato, who is truly worthy of being counted a great prophet, dreamed of them in his republic; that he would lift us above a state of abject dependence on country, parents, kindred, health, and all the blessings of earth, and convince us that poverty and the other miseries of life are in no wise evil. These doctrines Christ has confirmed by his life, more glorious than that of any man. Would that Helvetia had many, who could so exhibit Him to us! Such alone have power to improve our national character. And our people are by no means incapable of improvement."

The relation in which Zwingli stood to Geroldseck gave him encouragement to take a bolder step. Whatever he needed in the way of scientific help Geroldseck permitted him to buy for the monastery and was glad to add thus to its treasures. Zwingli was always grateful for his protection and support, and at a later period, when he had left Einsiedeln, gave utterance to the following expression: "You have never looked back, after you laid your hand to the plough. You are indeed the friend of all scholars, but me you have loved like a father, having not only admitted me to your friendship, but to the most intimate confidence of your heart. Go on, as you have begun; stand firmly at your post. God will in the end lead you to the goal. No one can gain the crown, who does not fight bravely

for it." Most willingly did he respond to the order of the unprejudiced Administrator, to go, with his friends, Zink, Echslin, and Schmied, to the convent under the supervision of Einsiedeln, there to relieve the nuns from the duty of singing matins, to recommend to them the reading of the German Bible, and to grant permission to any, who might wish it, to leave the convent and marry.*

But the most powerful weapon of his spirit was the living word. Proceeding cautiously, step by step, he as yet only attacked abuses in Einsiedeln; nevertheless his pulpit discourses made a deep impression, and already the number of pilgrims began to diminish, yea, many brought back again the presents, which they had carried away. Reports are still extant of the sermons preached at the festival of the Consecration of the Angels, in 1517, and those of Whitsuntide, 1518.† The first must have been bold, and according to the testimony of Hedion, who was present, the second were "beautiful, thorough, solemn, comprehensive, penetrating, evangelical, in the power of their language reminding one of the oldest church-fathers." A part of the monks were scandalized, but the Abbot and Geroldseck encouraged and protected the orator.

The attention of Rome was drawn to these things; but it did not at all abandon the hope of winning him back again. A *literal and faithful* translation of the letter, sent to him from Zurich, on the 14 August 1518, by Antonio Pucei, nuncio of the Apostolic See, is here added:

* This could scarcely have taken place, as may be supposed, during his ministry at Einsiedeln.

† He seems to have made his first open attack on the whole system of pilgrimages in the year 1522, when at the invitation of Geroldseck, he preached once more at Einsiedeln; since, in this year, the 14 September fell on a Sunday, the time of the greater festival of the Consecration of the Angels. The government of Schwyz, which had hitherto favored it, now first opened its eyes.

“Glorious by virtues and merits, commended as well by experience as by the testimony of your honorable fame, you have found such favor in the eyes of our Lord, the Pope, and the Apostolic See, that we, full of paternal kindness, keeping in view your person adorned with scientific culture, graciously purpose, according to the authority granted as by our aforesaid Lord, the Pope, to confer on you a title of special dignity. But hereby you perceive in truth, whither our kind disposition toward you would tend, when we now create you—who are a Master of Arts, whom, we, out of regard to merits already alluded to, would promote and adorn with the title and privileges of a special post of honor,—you, whom we, if you have fallen in any way under any ban, suspension, interdict, or other ecclesiastical sentence, or under any censure or penalty of any court, or of individual men, be its origin what it may, partaking in the operations of our favor, and turning your prayer toward us in relation to the matter, we would now absolve and have known as absolved—you, we now, in the name of our holy Lord, the Pope, and the Apostolic See, in accordance with these presents, create an *acolyte-chaplain*, by the apostolical authority, granted us by the most holy Father in Christ, our Lord, the Lord Leo X., Pope by the decree of God, and exercised by us, and graciously enroll you in the number and society of the other chosen acolyte-chaplains of our Lord, the Pope, and the Roman See. At the same time we grant you the possession and enjoyment of all the privileges, prerogatives, honors, exceptions, favors, liberties, immunities and indulgences, singly and collectively, which belong to the other acolyte-chaplains of our Lord, the Pope, and the Apostolic See, or which they in any way hereafter shall be allowed to possess and enjoy, to be used by you freely and in a lawful manner, unrestricted by the Apostolic Constitutions and commands, or any other kind of impediment whatsoever. Then will you by aspiring after virtue advance

from good to better, and become worthy of a still higher place in the presence of our Lord, the Pope, and ourselves, and he himself, our Lord, the Pope, and we will thereby be moved to bestow on you more extensive favors and honors. The present document is dispatched to bear witness, and we have allowed it to be ratified by our seal appended thereto."

"An official style," the scientific reader, who looks at this letter may exclaim; but the people, in whose ranks Zwingli ranged himself, understood and needed another kind of language. That which the Church granted to her pliant acolyte-chaplains—freedom from excommunication—the dwellers in the Alps had sometimes ventured to bestow upon themselves on their own authority in moments of power. The complicated sentences and the promises contained in them, in case of fidelity and submission, made, therefore, little impression upon the Reformer. How independent he was, in this respect, even at Einsiedeln, appears from his letter, of 1525, to Valentine Compar, former state-secretary in Uri. "Observe," says he, "dear Valentine, what I will yet publicly make known to the people, now living, that I, both before and since the schism arose, have discoursed and treated with distinguished cardinals, bishops and prelates concerning errors in doctrine, and warned them to begin the correction of abuses, or else they would be involved in greater trouble. Eight years ago at Einsiedeln and then at Zurich I often proved to the Lord Cardinal of Sion, that the whole Papacy rested on a rotten foundation, and this always by appealing to the Holy Scriptures. The noble Sir Diebold von Geroldseck, Master Francis Zink and Doctor Michael Sander, all three yet living, are my witnesses; and the above-named cardinal has frequently expressed himself to me in this way, 'If God restores me again to favor (for he was at that time in disgrace with the Pope), I would then willingly see the pride and falsehood of the Roman Bishop exposed and corrected.'

And then, he has not seldom conversed with me about doctrine and the Holy Scripture, and every time would acknowledge the falsehood and his displeasure at it. But how he behaved afterward, need not be told here."

When, therefore, the Bishop of Constance himself, just at this time, in a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, uttered, in the strongest terms, complaints of their thoroughly corrupt condition, and deplored, that "many of them, without regard to shame and the fear of God, kept lewd women in their houses, and would neither put them away nor do better, and that others were addicted to gambling and oftener to be met with in taverns than in their own rooms, wrangled in the streets, scolded, giving rise to uproar as well as blasphemy against the Savior, his blessed mother, and all the saints of God, wore weapons and clothes altogether unsuited to their condition, entered into unlawful agreements, crept into nunneries and otherwise led abandoned lives at variance with the priestly character," and acknowledged the urgent necessity of a remedy, was it a seditious movement, or not rather a noble effort to help on a good cause, when Zwingli thanked his chief pastor for this, but at the same time begged him to act as well as speak?

It is easy to imagine how such a zealous discharge of the duties of his calling should more and more attract the attention of the public authorities. Wintherthur was anxious to see him in the place of its deceased pastor. He had to decline, because the citizens of Glarus were not willing to release him from his former engagement. In Zurich even, wither he had come on a visit, the number of his admirers continually increased. The burgomaster Roist and his brethren-in-arms at Marignano were acquainted with him since the Italian campaign. To the senator, Jacob Grebel, he was introduced by his son Conrad, at that time one of his warmest admirers. The canons Utinger, Erasmus, Schmied and Engelhart knew and

honored his scientific attainments, and even the hostile disposition, which, then already, some of the most resolute defenders of every kind of wickedness cherished toward him, might well have proved a recommendation to all well-disposed people. Thus the way was prepared for a translation to the scene of his future labors, but before this, Einsiedeln was yet to see him coming out boldly against one of the cardinal sins of the Papal Court.

Samson, the auctioneer of writs of indulgence, came to Switzerland, as Tetzl to Saxony. The shameless trade, carried on by both, in the pretended remission of sins, is well known. We will not revive these scandalous scenes, confidently believing, that their repetition in our age would be impossible. Even Zwingli paused a moment, before he ventured to attack openly the corrupter of the people, who was backed, as he asserted, by a commission from the Pope. It was the bishop of his country, who strengthened him for the undertaking. "Hugo, Bishop of Constance"—says he in the letter to Compar already quoted from—"has informed me by his vicar Johansen Faber, since the Franciscan monk Samson would sell indulgences amongst us, and since he, the bishop, had learned that I preached against it, and confirmed me therein, he was willing to stand by me in all fidelity. How could I act otherwise? Had I not to obey a bishop of Constance, whose vicar wrote to me,—even if I had not intended to do the same thing before—to make war on the ensnaring system of indulgences?"

He uttered warnings from the pulpit in Einsiedeln and the natural result was, the monk found so little encouragement in the neighboring Schwyz, that he the more quickly passed on to richer and more willing hearers in Bern.

But now, with this last act, the ministerial labors of the Reformer in Einsiedeln must be brought to a close. Erhard Battman, people's priest at Zurich, was elected a member of the

monastery of that place and resigned his post as preacher. The choice of a successor lay with the canons. A majority of the most influential of them, together with several officers of state urgently desired that Zwingli should be chosen. Oswald Myconius, properly Geissshausler, who is since known as the biographer and friend of Zwingli, became an agent in the matter. He was born at Luzern, four years later than Zwingli, and had received a careful education, particularly in the Latin language at Rothweil under an eminent teacher, and afterward, in the University at Basil. He early became acquainted with the accomplished Glareanus and thanked him especially for his perception of every beautiful and noble tendency in life, and for an introduction to Zwingli, who once came from Glarus to Basel on a visit. It was the learned Netherlander Erasmus chiefly, around whom, all, who strove after culture and science with genuine zeal, united themselves in Basel. Even Art found in this genial man recognition and encouragement. The celebrated painter Holbein was his friend, and had furnished spirited illustrations for a book, in which Erasmus had hit off the various follies of the time with wit and humor. This memorial is preserved to this day in the library of the city. In the society of such distinguished men Myconius found his sphere of knowledge enlarged, his judgment corrected and his will strengthened. Three beautiful traits appear prominent in his character—Earnestness, Thoroughness (by which, not content till he had rightly apprehended the smallest details, he rose higher, step by step, but ever the more securely, for thus Platter, afterward his scholar, has portrayed him with grateful affection), and then, that which only belongs to pure endeavor, a Modesty, that is not concerned about its own praises but only about the propagation of truth, and springing from this and connected with it, the most cordial esteem and the most devoted friendship, where he discovered true merit in others, and an

acknowledgment without envy, where he found in them a greater talent than his own. For this reason he became so intimate with Zwingli and remained so true to him, through all changes, to the end of his life. About the same time that his friend went to Einsiedeln, he himself received a call as teacher in the *foundation school* at Zurich. Here he soon gained influence and consideration, and it was owing to his efforts that the present invitation was extended to Zwingli, who answered him thus: "See that you tell me of the course of duties, the persons, who are at the head of affairs, the salary and whatever else you can find out. On Wednesday I will dine in Zurich and then we can talk over the matter. I will take no step without your advice. Congratulate, according to usage, in my name, the newly elected provost, Frei, as one who is a friend to learning."

Myconius confirmed him in his resolution to offer himself as a candidate for the post; and, some days after, Zwingli laid open his heart to his friend. "A *fable*"—writes he—"reaches my ears; that Lorenzo Fable, so the Swabian from Graubunden is called, has preached once before your congregation, and is not wholly unacceptable to the prudent people of Zurich; yet a letter from Michael, the private secretary of the Cardinal, assures me of the contrary. How, said I to myself, is it thus true, that the prophet has the least honor in his own country? Can a Swabian even be preferred to a Switzer, who, on his own territory, would not be regarded as inferior? Yes, indeed! I see well how he strives to gain the applause of the multitude by flattery. I know too that the whole endeavor of the vain man is after that—this Jack Smoke, as I, with our Glareanus, will call fellows of his kidney. Keep this scornful effusion of mine to yourself, dear friend, and continue to work for me, for I will freely confess, the place appears now doubly desirable, since I know, that he hankers after it. Yes, what I would

otherwise have borne patiently, would now seem a real disgrace. Indeed I must go against the warning of Paul, who accuses them, that covet, of worldly-mindedness. Already I had proposed to myself, to expound the whole Gospel of Matthew, an undertaking hitherto unheard of in Germany. Let them choose him and they will soon see what he will bring out of his goose-stall. Take this hasty letter in good part. It is more warm than prudent."

Myconius answered, that his friendly letter was welcome, and the more so, because he had given in it a true picture of himself. About Fable he set his mind at ease. Unfavorable reports of him had since arrived; and there was no one in Zurich, who did not laud Zwingli's attainments to the skies. But his life offered another difficulty. A minority at least found fault with it. A part of them saw in his fondness for music a worldly disposition; others said that he had not confined himself in Glarus to good society; and at a very recent date a rumor began to spread abroad, that he had been guilty of too familiar intercourse with a daughter of a citizen of that place. A further examination of his fitness for the office was committed to the provost, Frei, and two members of the canonicate—Utinger and Hofmann. The latter, an aged, severe man, formerly a zealous preacher against the mischief of foreign pensions, was particularly anxious to know what might be in the affair. "Write to me about it;"—concludes he—"not, because you need first prove to me the falsehood of the charge, but because I wish to contradict those who are ill-disposed."

A letter from Zwingli to the canon Utinger immediately followed, in which he honorably confessed the crime, yet affirmed that he had not been the seducer, but the seduced. With shame and anguish he made this confession, and vowed that, for the future, by daily and nightly searchings and labors, he would keep himself free from stains of this sort. "Never-

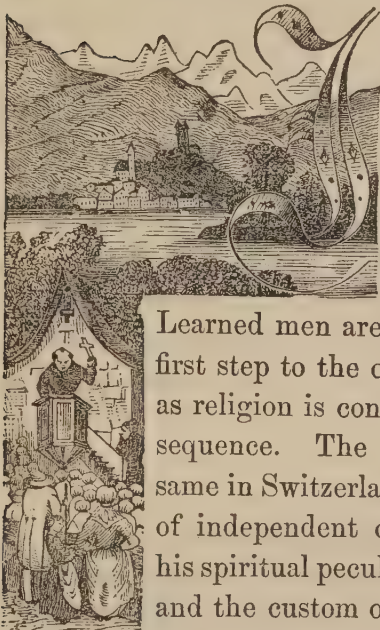
theless,"—continued he—"if such charges are spread abroad by my enemies, your people must have a poor opinion of me, and if I should be elected, the preaching of the Gospel must suffer damage. It is advisable, therefore, for you to consider well, beforehand, what the public sentiment may be, and to listen rather to God than men. Speak frankly about me, with whomsoever you may find it necessary. Show my scrawl," (for that it is and no vindication) "to Myconius, and to any one else you please. I lay my fate in your hands. Whatever the result may be, withdraw not your love; mine for you always remains."

That, after all this, Myconius and Utinger pushed on matters with redoubled zeal; that Hofmann came out on his side; that of the twenty-four canons seventeen cast their votes for him; that in Zurich, and among all the sons of Zurich in foreign lands, the liveliest joy prevailed, shows us that the favorable opinion, held of him, did not suffer much by his confession. It was the same case in the scene of his former labors. The inhabitants of Glarus, to whom he had gone, toward the close of December, in order to resign his post, which he had retained till this time, respected him so highly, that, on the strength of his recommendation, they passed themselves over to the care of Valentine Tschudi. At Einsiedeln, Geroldseck acted in the same way. He chose Leo Judæ, the friend of Zwingli, as his successor in that place. The guardian power of the monastery, the Council at Schwyz, wrote to him: "Although we in part regret that you must leave us at Einsiedeln, yet, on the other hand, we rejoice with you in everything that contributes to your profit and honor." Through Glareanus the tidings came from Paris: "All the Swiss youth, who are here, were delighted; they exulted, particularly the sons of Zurich. What concerns me is, that I have less reason to wish you happiness than to pity my friends in Glarus." Thus then, he, who was taking

leave, stands in his true image before us, exhibited in his weakness as well as in his preponderating virtue; no saint—only a man; but a man full of courage and faith. Well! let us accompany him to the enlarged sphere of that ministry of his, whose results will endure for ages.

CHAPTER SECOND.

ZWINGLI IN ZURICH. BEGINNING OF THE REFORMATION. POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS UP TO THE FIRST RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE.



JUST as Zwingli began his reformation in Switzerland, Martin Luther made his appearance in the German Empire. Many in those times tried to disparage the work of Zwingli by asserting that he only took the words out of Luther's mouth.—

Learned men are since divided, some attributing the first step to the one and some to the other. As far as religion is concerned, the question is of little consequence. The corruption of the church was the same in Switzerland as in Germany. Both were men of independent character. Each was developed in his spiritual peculiarities, according to his own nature and the custom of his people. But since Zwingli himself has set forth his relation to Luther, it may be worth our while to listen to his own language: "The great and powerful of this world have begun to proscribe and render odious the doctrine of Christ under the name of Luther; so that they, by whom it is preached, are called Lutherans. Thus it happened also to me. But before any one in our country ever heard the name of Luther, I had commenced to preach the Gospel in the year 1516, since I never went into the pulpit without placing

before me the words, read in the Gospel of the mass for that day, in order to explain them from the Holy Scripture alone. In the beginning of the year, when I came to Zurich, no one yet knew anything of Luther, except that a book was published by him on indulgences, but it taught me little, for I had already been instructed concerning the fraud of indulgences by a disputation, which my beloved teacher, Thomas Wittenbach of Biel, held at Basel, although during my absence. Who then shall give me the nick-name of Lutheran? And when Luther's little book on the Paternoster appeared, and I had shortly before explained the same Paternoster in Matthew, I well knew, that many pious people suspected me of making that book and adding Luther's name to it. Who then could nick-name me a Lutheran? I point out this with all the circumstances, so that every one may learn, what the base intentions of several noblemen are, when they venture to tack the name of Luther to all, who preach the Gospel, so as thereby to make the doctrine odious to men, by giving you the name of a man, which is truly nothing else than a gross blasphemy, and a sure sign of a corrupt, godless conscience. Luther is, as it strikes me, an excellent soldier of God, who with great earnestness has looked through the Scripture as no one has ever done in a thousand years on earth, and with manly, undaunted spirit, has attacked therewith the Pope of Rome, as no one has ever done like him, as long as the Papacy has endured, yet without receiving abuse from others. But of whom is such an act? of God, or Luther? Ask Luther himself and, I well know, he will say, 'Of God.' Why then do you ascribe the doctrine of other men to Luther, when he himself ascribes it to God? Does Luther preach Christ? Then he does just what I do; although, God be thanked, by him a countless world more will be led to God, than by me and others, whose measure God makes greater or smaller, as he will. Nevertheless I will bear no name but that

of my captain, Christ, whose soldier I am, who will give me office and pay as much as seems to him good. Now, I hope, every body will understand, why I do not wish to be nicknamed Lutheran; although I esteem Luther as highly as any man living." He proved by his actions that he spoke the truth, for when the Papal Bull of excommunication against Luther was already sent out, though not yet made known, he strove as far as it was in his power, first by representations to the acting attorney of the Legate in Zurich, and afterwards, by an anonymous publication, to hinder it as much as possible. So Zwingli stood then, acknowledging the high merit of the Saxon Reformer, supporting him, at his side; but now let us turn back to his national career.

The destructive influence of foreign mercenary service and pensions on the character of the people was no less visible in Zurich than in other States of the Confederacy, and the number of families, who were able to resist the charms of gold, displayed freely on all sides, was small, especially in the city. Indeed, the councils and people had, in the year 1513, executed a solemn oath against "Wages and Bribes," as it was called, and two years later, at the rumor of a high-handed breach of it, the people of the lakes rose up and by threats produced the flight of some of the bribed, and the dismissal and punishment of others; but the oath was taken on one day, uproar followed on the second, and then new transgressions on the third. When Zwingli came to Zurich, a suspicion, that had more or less foundation, rested on some of the first men in the government. This was increased by the notorious intrigues of the many foreign embassies, who were present, and their followers also not seldom helped on the demoralization of the city. In Bern the state of morals was better than in Zurich. "The Bernese"—wrote Sebastian Wagner to Zwingli—"appear to me not so morally corrupt as our people of Zurich. Their dress and their

manners have a certain air of ancient Swiss simplicity." Bullinger also says: "Before the preaching of the Gospel Zurich was almost like Corinth in Greece. Much lewdness and frivolity prevailed, because diets were held there and many strangers flocked in, where the embassies of lords and princes were staying." George Mangolt of Constance tells us that he heard Zwingli himself say from the pulpit in the year 1520, that on a former visit to Zurich "he found so much wickedness there, that he silently resolved never to become a pastor in that city and prayed God to prevent it," and some years later, when reform began to gain ground, one of his friends, Anthony Dublet, wrote to him from Leyden: "I cannot tell you, what joy possessed me, what comfort stole into my heart, when I heard, that the first state of the Confederacy, your men of Zurich, till now, it seemed, born only for war and murder, more beasts than men, have laid aside their godless avarice joined to a godless cruelty, and in good faith pledged themselves to the simple Gospel and Christ, the Lord, the true Mediator. Truly, God is mighty, who can from such stones raise up children to Abraham!" The number of executions, one of which occurred nearly every month, was not able to keep down outbreaks of the lawless spirit, which ruled the nation, and the sentences of the judges on the bench not seldom bore marks of the rudeness of the age. In the second year of Zwingli's ministry, a witch was burnt, because she confessed on the rack, that she had sold herself to the Devil, had enjoyed connection with him, had ridden on a stick to Schaffhausen, and to an assembly of wicked spirits on the Heuberg, lamed cattle, and conjured up a frost and five hail-storms. New saints also were wantonly manufactured. The journeyman-tailors proclaimed St. Goodman as their patron, left off work, and went dancing about to the music of a drum. The authorities were compelled to interfere with sternness. All this shows the difficulties, that

met the Reformer, on the part of the people, to whom he was sent.

And as it regards the government and the clergy his path was in no degree smoother. That some of the most distinguished members of the council were honestly and decidedly national in their feelings cannot be doubted. There is no evidence to show, that the burgomaster Mark Roist ever preferred his private advantage before the public weal, and his son Diethelm also, who sat next his father in the council, was an acknowledged man of honor. The deputy Rudolph Thumseisen had likewise maintained an unspotted reputation, and George Berger and Hans Effinger, even in Italy, among so many degraded characters, proved themselves incorruptible. Hans Edlebach, the treasurer Werdmueller, the banneret Schweizer, and of the younger men, Ulric Funk and Lavater, *landvogt* at Kyburg, enjoyed universal esteem. But besides these, there was another party, composed of men, who, as the crowd says, meant well, though they were weak, and not inaccessible to the corrupting influences of the time, and hence undecided in moments of peril. The second burgomaster Schmied; his successor, the deputy Walder, and the senator Jacob Grebel may be pointed out as belonging to this class. On the other hand, there was yet a third class, who were ready to desert any cause, and to help on and take part in any bold, disorderly proceeding. Accustomed to splendor and good-living, they had been reduced to poverty by idleness and prodigality, and hence were always in the market for the highest bidder. And yet, by reason of their noble descent and their extensive connections, they were able to wield a considerable influence, for most of them were members of the aristocracy. Among these appear the Goeldins, the Stapfers, the Landenbergs, some branches of the Zieglers and the Rahns, and bold men, like Onofrion Setzstab, who were prepared for any undertaking. Zwingli could foresee in them

all, his deadly, and at a later period perhaps his powerful enemies.

Among the clergy, the new people's priest was brought into direct intercourse with the canons, who elected and had control over him. Although they had his kind wishes, he yet resolved, to act freely according to his convictions, supported by a feeling of spiritual superiority. He could scarcely have rejected good counsels from the trustee Utinger, and the canons Erasmus Schmied, Walder, Bachofen and some others perhaps, who at the very first extended to him the hand of friendship. His beginning will appear more difficult when we consider, that they acted by authority, and whoever, supported by it, ventured to come out into more decided opposition against him, could be certain of a strong support. That he therefore had to look for cold respect, but no hearty co-operation from one portion of the circle of his ministerial associates, and secret dislike, yea, even burning hatred from another, might be inferred from the nature of the human passions and the circumstances of the case.

In this way, his position had already become suspicious to the higher, and much more to the lower clergy, on account of their general dislike. The reputation, which had preceded him, made the race of monks tremble, for by their degeneracy, they had fallen into deserved contempt with the mass of the people. Still, distinguished patrons, and adherents in public and private remained true to him. Zwingli could not at least expect skillful opponents from this quarter. Their gross ignorance left them at his mercy. But just in the very consciousness of his superiority lay a temptation, so much the stronger, to rash and premature action, and by this the Reformer was threatened with the greatest danger. Thus affairs stood in Zurich, when Zwingli began to teach. He arrived there on the 27 December, 1518, and immediately presented himself to the convent of the canons. Here he was made acquainted with the duties

of his office. Of the fourteen articles of direction, the two shortest were those relating to the pulpit. Twice in a year he had to read aloud longer passages from the Gospels, to preach on Sundays, to announce the festivals, and to notify the chapter of the so-called anniversaries, or to see that it was done by one of his two assistants. The other articles treated of his presence in the choir, obedience, style of dress, the reading of the mass, baptism, simony (the selling of benefices or obtaining them by fraud), but especially the care of the revenues of the chapter. All his duties were detailed therein with the greatest precision and minuteness. An article was afterwards added, which made it the duty of the people's priest not to leave the city during seasons of pestilence.

At this meeting Zwingli declared that he regarded preaching as his chief business. First of all, the people must be taught to understand the Holy Scriptures. So it had been in ancient times. But now nothing was heard, except solitary extracts, and even these in a foreign language. He did not pass by the remark, that the church thus orders it, but appealed on the contrary to its oldest statutes, and proved clearly the modern origin and ruinous consequences of the change.

What he had told the canons, he made known to the congregation on the first of January, 1519, and on Sunday the second, began to expound the Gospel of Matthew. It is easy to imagine, that, when he first came out in this unwonted manner, a large number of hearers would be collected together; but to retain them, demanded an inward call, combined with a vast range of knowledge. The applause, which he drew forth, continually increased, for he knew how to attract both the high and the low. His sermons were life-pictures; and this gave them their charm, their power, their practical effect. The doctrine of Christ, designed for all nations and all ages, is so simple, and can be traced back to such a few principles, that by

a mere repetition, paraphrase, or exclusive explanation of these only, the most dexterous orator, obliged to appear so often, must become dull and cold; but infinitely rich, and ever new, is life surveyed in the light of this same doctrine. The appearance of Zwingli, not only every week, but almost every day, was, for this reason, always welcome. Now, when the occasion called for it, there were representations of the fate of Jesus and of the apostles; and then again, narratives or pictures from Christian or Jewish, and sometimes even heathen history, events of the day, and praise or blame, which, without fear of offence, he wove into his discourses. "Take it not to yourself, O pious man!" he was accustomed to say. Indeed this mode of preaching raised an excitement nearly like the press in our times. Yet *one* difference between the old and the new teachers of the people is not to be overlooked. The former employed throughout the rule of the Gospel, and was concerned for the advancement of religious truth and not mere party views.

In proportion, meanwhile, as his knowledge of the people of Zurich and their circumstances increased, his sermons became more direct and pointed. If any one found fault with them, and it came to the ears of the preacher, he might be sure of an answer at the first opportunity. He did not hesitate to speak of them by name, and sometimes gave free play to his wit. Whatever was done in convent-walls, bar-rooms, and even in the hall of the council, contrary to truth, reason and sound morals, was exposed without mercy from the pulpit. Just then, 1519, the throne of the German Empire became vacant by the death of Maximilian I. Intrigues in regard to the choice of a successor kept the diet assembled in Zurich, in constant employment. Envoys were repeatedly sent to Italy in the service of the Pope; France attempted once more to bring about a closer alliance, and toward the north, in spite of all the dissuasion of the allied powers, whole troops of deserters streamed to

the banner of Duke Ulric of Wirtemberg, who, driven from his own capital, was engaged in war against the Swabian League. Amid these circumstances Zwingli took occasion to speak sometimes a word from the pulpit concerning politics. In this, the Gospel gave him less countenance, than the example of those Jewish prophets, who formerly made bold to bring the rule of kings under their examination, warning, or censure. But the times were no longer the same, and such a transgression of the bounds marked out by prudence, might well awaken concern in the bosoms of individual statesmen, who were not deserving of reproach.

And yet amid all, he still gained firmer footing in Zurich. Every man of unbiased feeling was obliged to confess, that he was inspired by religion, and had the welfare of the state as well as the church truly at heart. Moreover, it could not escape any one, familiar with history, that only the most decided measures can eradicate deep-seated corruption. The universal abhorrence of the traffic of indulgences came to his aid. The miserable Samson, after filling his pockets at Bern, had ventured to approach Zurich. Both the spiritual and secular authorities approved of the attacks, which Zwingli made against him. He was prevented from riding into the city. Even the Diet, to which he appealed, would have nothing to do with him, and went so far as to give Felix Grebel, who was setting out for Rome, a commission to lay complaints of him before the Pope. Immediately the monk received evidence of Leo's displeasure. "The thirteen cantons of the Confederacy"—was written to him—"have complained to His Holiness, that, in the promulgation of indulgences, you have fallen into errors, which it were out of place here to enumerate. The Holy Father is much astonished at this, and has given orders, to enjoin upon you in his name, to be subject in all things to the will of the aforesaid lords of the Confederacy. You shall

remain there, for the execution of your commission, if they demand it, but in no way oppose them, if they desire you to return to Italy; for it is the will of the Holy Father, that you be entirely obedient to these lords, his well-beloved sons, in all things that can contribute to the welfare of their souls. You will also show this letter to them."

There was great rejoicing over this conclusion of the matter, especially on the part of the Vicar-general of the Bishop of Constance, Faber, who had formerly been Zwingli's fellow-student in Vienna, and had since then kept up a certain intimacy with him. Indeed, at Zwingli's first bold debut, the vicar-general seemed to wish it still closer. "Why"—wrote he to him—"do you make so careful and sparing a use of my friendship? Why do you seem to mistrust me? Do not doubt! Begun under favorable auspices, it will last forever." Still later he invited him to his house, communicated his plans to him, asked his judgment concerning books, and proclaimed aloud his praise, especially where he knew that it would reach Zwingli's ears. But the Reformer looked deeper. Modesty was a prominent trait in his character from youth upward. In the one appeared the love of the world, the struggle to elevate himself by any means in his power, the vain fancy that he could hoodwink others by the assumption of a mask; in the other, a strong love for truth. Nevertheless, Zwingli wished to avoid a breach with his former friend; and now, especially, when he and the bishop seemed not unwilling to favor further reforms. In reference to this he thus expresses himself in the letter to Valentine Compar already quoted from: "I have sent humble and dutiful letters to the Bishop of Constance, and pointed out to him publicly and privately and in every way, how he ought to apply himself to spreading abroad the light of the Gospel; and that it would redound to the honor of the whole race of Landenberg, if he were the first bishop, who

would cause the Gospel to be freely preached; but I do not know how the weather has changed. They, who were so prompt before, have given me no answer, either by mouth or pen, except what they have done in general. But this was unlike the former, because (in consequence of it) the vicar let me understand orally and by writing, the Bishop would not endure too much urging from the Pope."

Amid such signs of a storm gathering on all sides, the plague broke out in Zurich toward the close of the summer of 1519. Spreading in almost all the neighboring countries, it reached Switzerland from the east, and penetrated into the secluded vallies of the mountains. Zwingli received the news of its near approach in a bath at Pfeffers, and, mindful of his duty as people's priest, immediately hurried back to Zurich. Seeing the peculiar danger, he sent several young men, who were living in his house, particularly his young brother Andrew, to their homes; but he himself unterrified began to discharge the duties of his office. The result, that was foreseen, followed. He also was laid upon a bed of sickness.

Not for harmony of rhythm, but for the deep inward feeling, which they manifest, the verses composed by him, after he had become convalescent, in two different periods of sickness, are truly remarkable. They show us the sources of his faith and activity, and a character, which, even in view of what appeared to be his last hour, remained true to itself. An admirer of Zwingli in modern times, still keeping faithfully to the thoughts, has altered the language to that of our century, and in this form they may also be admitted here.*

* [Instead of putting these altered versions into our own language, we give the poems as found in the English translation of Merle D'Aubigne's History of the Reformation, because the German of Zwingli has there been followed, and their original form and spirit better preserved.—Trans.]

In the beginning of sickness :

Lo! at my door	Yet, if to quench
Gaunt Death I spy;	My sun at noon,
Hear, Lord of life,	Be thy behest,
Thy creature's cry.	Thy will be done!
The arm that hung	In faith and hope
Upon the tree,	Earth I resign,
Jesus, uplift—	Secure of heaven—
And rescue me.	For I am thine!

When the disease gained strength.

Fierce grow my pains :	In Satan's grasp,
Help, Lord, in haste!	On Hell's dark brink,
For flesh and heart	My spirit reels,—
Are failing fast.	Ah! must I sink?
Clouds wrap my sight	No, Jesus, no!
My tongue is dumb,	Him I defy,
Lord tarry not,	While here beneath
The hour is come!	Thy cross I lie.

But his vigorous constitution surmounted the disease. About the end of autumn signs of convalescence began to appear, and he gave vent to his joy, at the prospect of restoration to life and activity, in the following stanzas:

My Father God,	Though now delayed,
Behold me whole!	My hour must come,
Again on earth	Involved, perchance,
A living soul!	In deeper gloom.
Let sin no more	It matters not;
My heart annoy,	Rejoicing yet,
But fill it, Lord,	I'll bear the yoke
With holy joy.	To Heaven's bright gate.

Thus sickness did not cause him to waver in his settled convictions, but filled him, on the contrary, with new courage. Yet the last poem shows us that a foreboding of a darker fate in the future was by no means strange to him. Indeed, not

long after his recovery, he expressed himself still more clearly in a similar strain to his friend Myconius. After a glance at the dangers which surrounded Luther, he continued: "Whatever may befall me, I, already marked out as a victim, look for every thing evil from the clergy and the laity. I only pray Christ for courage to bear all with a manly heart, and that he may crush or strengthen me, his laborer, as may seem good to him; and, should I even fall under excommunication, I will think of Hilary, that learned and holy man, who was banished from Gaul to the deserts of Africa, and of Lucius, who was driven from the Roman See, and afterward brought back with honor. I will not liken myself to such men, who, though greater than I, still endured the greatest evils. But should *one* glory await me; may it be, to suffer shame for Christ! Yet, let him, who thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall."

That he could thus express himself to his best friend only by letter and no more see him in person at his side, belonged to the bitter trials of his life at this time. Myconius had just then accepted a call to the highest professorship in his native city, Luzern, and Zwingli found himself deprived of half his support, "like an army"—he said—"one of whose wings is cut off in the presence of the enemy." This man, by reason of his moderation, had great influence with the clergy and the laity, and often became a useful mediator between them and the impetuous Zwingli. There was no one now to persuade the Reformer to use milder measures; and the complaints of the canons, summed up in a letter to his superior, the provost Frei, only provoked him to a repulsive answer. These related chiefly to the imposition of tithes, the main source of revenue to the church, and an unjust burden in the eyes of the majority of the nation. The people's priest was expressly pledged by the statutes, to take care of the conscientious disposition of the tithe, and to insist upon it as a religious

duty in his discourses. "Instead of which"—says the letter of the canons—"he denies the divine origin of the tax, and seems to regard it as tyranny, if it be strictly enforced. Is it any wonder that the people stick to him? He makes us odious to the laity, calls the monks, 'theologians of the cowl,' and whatever he hears bad of them, he talks about it in the pulpit." It is almost certain, that the provost, when Zwingli had conversed somewhat earnestly with him concerning these charges, was ashamed of the memorial of his subordinates. At least he cherished no hatred toward his person. On the contrary, some months later, he exerted his utmost influence to induce the chapter of the canons, without consulting a higher spiritual court, to simplify their worship and alter the breviary of the cathedral, "because it is impossible in this age to keep up any longer the multitude of holidays, ceremonies and ecclesiastical customs, which have been accumulating for centuries." In the same manner Zwingli was afterward, upon his own request, admitted into the number of the canons.*

Thus far in Zurich the external condition of the church remained the same. The agitation was confined to the souls of men. In the mean time this was little felt beyond the limits of the canton. Neither the Confederates, nor the Bishop, nor

* This was the only means, as a letter, sent by Francis Zink from Einsiedeln to the government of Zurich, clearly shows, of keeping him in the city; for it was impossible any longer to pay the two assistants, whom he was bound to maintain, out of his own salary, without the pension of the Pope; nevertheless, in order to gain perfect freedom of speech, instead of accepting the doubling of the Romish allowance just then promised, he declined receiving from the legate what had hitherto been paid. Under these circumstances his friend Henry Engelhart came to his assistance, since, he having also a benefice in the church of Notre Dame (Frauen-Muenster), resigned his post in the cathedral, in Zwingli's favor.

the Pope, nor his legates found any occasion to interfere; and now again it was from political events, that the first general movement took its rise.

The Perpetual Peace was concluded by Francis I., in the hope of paving the way for a closer alliance with the Confederates. He needed and sought after their soldiers; he wished to take them away from his enemies. He, therefore, sent to them some of his men of business, who were best acquainted with our country and its inhabitants; lavished gold in abundance, and held in his employ some of the most active Swiss, as recruiting officers. Among these, Albert von Stein, a Bernese, was the boldest and most indefatigable. He was well known in the canton of Zurich. He had relations and connexions there. His appearance always gave rise to an excitement, and in some districts of the country at least, the youth did not lend an unwilling ear to his voice. When by the election of Charles V. to the throne of the German Empire in the year 1519, the French King saw his hopes vanish, he redoubled his efforts to secure the wished-for defensive alliance, and a favorable hearing first of all in Bern and Luzern. Most other places joined with them. Only Zurich, Schwyz, Basel, and Schaffhausen stood out against it. At length, in April 1521, the three latter were also won over. On the 5th of May, the treaty was subscribed in Luzern by twelve states and all the places subject to them, and at the same diet the resolution was passed, to make a last general endeavor, to prevent Zurich from withdrawing by herself.

It is mentioned by Bullinger and all his contemporaries that Zwingli spoke out decidedly against this treaty from the pulpit and whenever he found opportunity; and they seem to infer from the strength and clearness of papers concerning it issued from Zurich, that he had the chief hand in their composition. But the Confederates worked against him with just as much zeal. Not only did envoys from Bern, Luzern, Uri, Unterwal-

den, Zug and Solothurn, along with the French ambassador Lameth, present, in the name of all the others, petitions, expressions of regard, and even hints at grievous consequences in case of a refusal, but written letters came also from the rural districts and congregations, demanding a subscription of the treaty. Albert von Stein and others like him were seen traveling repeatedly from place to place throughout the canton.

Under these circumstances the government resorted to a natural expedient. It declared that it must first hear the voice of the people, and then the Great Council would decide.

Members of the council were sent into all the bailiwicks, to lay before the assembled commons, first, the treaty itself, and then, a written explanation of its several articles, and ask their patient examination of it, and also a communication of their views, in writing, to the government. With the league and its significance to the Confederacy the more circumstantial history of the country begins. On the contrary, the real voice of the people ought to be plain to us from the answers of the commons. The records may be quoted in the true-hearted language of the time, and a beginning made with Winterthur.

"On notice brought by our worthy lords, the knight Felix Grebel, Younker Conrad Engelhard and Master Henry Wegmann, who as ambassadors of our gracious, loving lords, the burgomaster, and the Small and Great Councils of the city of Zurich, have sufficiently informed, by written instructions, my lords, the Schultheiss, and the Small and Great Councils of the city of Winterthur concerning the alliance—it is true: my lords, the Schultheiss, and the Small and Great Councils, would have thought advice from them unnecessary, since they have already given it to our lords, the burgomaster, and the Council of the city of Zurich, by their deputy and member. But since they could not be excused and found themselves included with others in the letters of instruction, they have sat upon the busi-

ness and framed an answer to be given to the twelve cantons, in the hope that it may serve to further peace and unity. And the humble, earnest answer and prayer of my lords, the Schultheiss and the Small and Great Council, is, that some way may be devised, so to arrange matters, that our lords, the burgo-master and the Council of the city of Zurich, may be and remain one with the twelve cantons and the other Confederates, with the further offer, that, if it happen so or not, they will none the less act, as becomes pious, honest people, and place their lives and property at your disposal."

"The Four Wards, together with Wipkingen, Seebach, Schwamendingen and Oerlikon, also Wiedikon and Wollishofen, give answer to the paper read before them concerning the French alliance: first of all, that they thank my lords for their distinguished honor and friendship in laying open before them their cares and trials; therefore, be it their general will and opinion, and urgent desire and prayer, that my lords will be very slow to enter into union and alliances with the French, as well as other foreign princes and lords, since they would have nothing at all to do with the French aforesaid. For each honest man can scarcely raise children enough to send to the French King. Besides, be it also their desire, that the treaties and what they grant, be maintained among the Confederates; and thereto, as pious, true people and subjects, they pledge their lives and property and all else, that God has given them."

"An assembly at Hirslanden and Riespach have with one accord resolved on the cross, that they fervently, earnestly, and with the highest zeal, thank our lords of Zurich for their pious, friendly notice, and for telling them so truly the misery, troubles and dangers of the alliance with the king, brought about and subscribed to by the twelve cantons, and therefore, earnestly beseech our lords aforesaid to remain firm in their honest purpose and intention, and give the go-by to all princes and

lords; then will they also pledge to them their souls, honor, lives and property without any reserve, since they would have nothing at all to do with this alliance, as far as lies in their power."

"A general assembly convened at Zollikon have, with great determination and unanimity, given answer, that they are well-pleased with the notice of our lords and their opinion, and that their reason is too weak to praise enough the pious, honest resolution of our lords; therefore they pressingly and earnestly pray our dear lords aforesaid to hold fast to their good resolution and not let themselves be moved therefrom by anybody, and not enter into this French alliance; then will they all together and without exception pledge their souls, honor, lives and property to our lords and stand by them till death."

"A general assembly at Kuessnacht, with one accord make answer: Your community has been sore wondered at and annoyed by the other confederates, who have brought themselves and their posterity into a danger, which will last for a long while, and may result in great damage to their people and cantons. Yet as for all, so the entire assembly with one accord, and with the greatest zeal, thank our lords for the true, friendly commands, brought by our two lords Master Hans Berger and Thomas Spruenglin of the Small and Great Council, and also for the pious, honorable, just and Christian resolution, to suffer grievance themselves rather than mischief should befall us and our posterity in the course of time. Therefore, the assembly offer the earnest and friendly prayer to our lords, that they will stick to their resolution to give the go-by to all lords, so that they who belong to them can remain unhampered, and every father also be aided by his sons, if he has need to use them for himself. In this, the entire assembly dares to pledge to our lords their lives and property and all that they have, wishing them also to help to punish their own sons, when they will not

remain true, and act in a rebellious manner. The assembly also desire our gracious lords, when troublesome persons stray into their city or canton, and act in an unbecoming way, striving to seduce the young men, that they will drive them off by authority, to prevent greater disturbance, which might arise from their overbearing dispositions."

Meila replied in a similar strain; and Mænedorf likewise.*

"A meeting at Stæfa has agreed on this: Because, for several years past it has unfortunately happened, that many honest people have been lost and killed, it ought to be plain now, that it came by treachery, and by means of the same lights, which burn in one confederacy at this day. Therefore they agree that these lights ought to be put out. For such cause it is to be feared; if our people unite with the people of the twelve cantons, that they will be brought to dishonor by them, for it is the common talk, that the twelve cantons wish to appoint the Duke of Wurtemberg, and, if it then go well or ill with the Confederates, that it would be little to the credit of our lords of Zurich and their honest people (it would not redound to their honor to have separated themselves). Therefore, they do not the less think, that the alliance would be neither godly nor right and altogether against the welfare of the soul, and they beseech our lords to withdraw themselves therefrom, if they can, and set the hearts of their honest people at rest, when they can bring it about. Then will they pledge to you their lives and property as far as they can. The assembly at Stæfa would commend themselves to your regard, since they more than others will have to meet with reproaches."

"A general assembly in the department of Grueningen have unanimously resolved to give this answer to our envoys, saying: Worthy lords, to come to us for counsel was not needful, for the

* To avoid repetition in the answers, we will hereafter give those only, which contain something new, or characteristic.

reason that we own you as our lords and superiors and willingly esteem you as such. Hence we ought to be rightly obedient to you in all your plans, and cheerfully aid you. But since you desire to know our wishes and feelings, great praise and honor are given on all sides to our gracious, loving lords, who have hitherto pleased us so well, for their excellent management; and it gives us great satisfaction, that you have so faithfully remembered your own, and are not willing, for the sake of money, that they should be bound; and we beseech you by the Most High God to stick to your resolution and give the complete go-by to foreign lords, and foreign wars and foreign money, as clearly shown in the contents of the paper concerning its removal, sworn to, years ago, in Zurich and all its dependencies. So we hope it will be adhered to and followed up. But if any one acts contrary thereto, or has acted, then you, our lords, well know, what punishment is due to him, and therefore we desire that you will consider the profit and honor of our country: so will we pledge to you our lives, honor, goods and everything else, God has given us, as a true child to his father; and will stand by you, like pious, honest people. Further, it is our urgent petition, that by some means you will drive Albert von Stein and others, who serve the French for pay, from your city and canton, so that honest folk be not corrupted and good comrades brought to sorrow, for it would not be to the credit of the city and our lords to have an honest man and his children stirred up to sedition and led astray. And it is also our prayer and desire, that our lords warn the several cantons of the dangers of such an alliance. And to this and all the articles, as here written, and whatever else it may please our lords to add, the honest people of this bailiwick, pledge their lives and goods, as poor folks ought to do to their lords and masters."

"Greifensee is not at all pleased with the alliance, since the

up-shot of it would be, to make the king of France our master instead of our gracious, loving lords of Zurich."

Duebendorf, Dietikon and Rieden declare themselves in the same way, thanking, agreeing and resolving; Høengg likewise; the department of Old Regensperg and New Regensperg; Neuamt; the Schultheiss, Council and general assembly at Buelach; the burgomaster, councils and general assembly of the department of Eglisau; the bailiwicks of Maschwander, Freiamt and Hedingen; Wædenschweil also, and Richtenschweil with the addition: "If our dear lords thus hold fast and keep always in the right way, it is our prayer, though they have heretofore eaten and drunk with the French, that they still drive them off; and that it be done by the Councils in the city and in the country, and finally, that they maintain the Hereditary Union of His Imperial Majesty, all as they have written."

Horgen adds this request: "Even though it should result in suffering and trial to our lords, to expel the foreign and German French from their city and canton, yet they would then be, neither French nor Imperial, but good Zurichers and Confederates."

"A general assembly at Thalweil has resolved, firstly, that the paper which has reached them from Luzern is in no wise acceptable, for they do not believe that such a letter has been prepared honestly and at the command of delegated ambassadors, lords and rulers, but suspect that it has been hatched in corners and is chiefly the production of the German French. Accordingly it is their will and opinion, and very urgent prayer, that our lords will stick to their praiseworthy design not to enter into alliances and treaties either with the French or other foreign lords and ever boldly keep to their honest way—and then, that judgment and authority be immediately exercised, in the city of our lords, against certain German French, who travel about here and there, using haughty and improper language, in order to

stir up your own and other people—it is the friendly petition of this whole assembly that my lords will drive off such seditious characters, and should this not be done, persons can be found perhaps, who will themselves undertake to drive them off and restore quiet, for the reason that heretofore and now every disturbance has arisen from these German French—so will they place body and blood at the disposal of my lords.”

Kilchberg, Altorf, in the upper part of the county of Kyburg, and Kloten give thanks and vote decidedly in favor of declining.

Upper Winterthur, having heard the paper read, resolved to return this answer: “Our lords have hitherto acted honorably and well in other similar affairs, hence, in good hope they will do so in the future, we confide in our lords as honorable men. Therefore it is their humble prayer and desire, that, as far as may be, our lords will not separate themselves from the Confederacy, but continue one with it; so will they ever act as dutiful subjects and pledge to our lords their lives and property and whatever else God has given them.”

“The bailiff, council and general assembly at Elggau thus answer, that, not having understanding and skill enough to speak and advise in this or in matters of much less moment, they leave the business in the hands of our lords; yet it is their prayer, that our lords hold the Confederacy in friendship and favor, but none the less will they pledge to our lords their lives and fortunes.”

“The burgomaster, bailiff, council and general assembly at Stein vote for declining the alliance, since, if it should be accepted, they would be afraid lest it should prove a great disadvantage and injury to the inhabitants of Stein and cause them sensible loss if war should arise therefrom, namely in their tolls, licenses, market-monies, quarter-dues, pasturing and watches, for lying on the borders they would have to bear the

first brunt, and hence wish our lords to care for them in the most faithful manner."

Upper and Lower Stammheim and Marthalen leave the business in the hands of their lords.

"Andelfingen has framed this answer: As our lords have hitherto managed well for us, they are wise and prudent enough to act in this affair. Yet finally, they pray that our lords may remain in peace and quiet and continue one also with the common confederates, and, in case it may be reasonably effected, that our lords do not separate themselves from the Confederacy, desiring which, they place at their disposal their lives and property, and will be found as faithful and obedient subjects."

The opinion of the citizens was altogether the same as that of the great majority of the country-people. Everywhere the heads of corporations were commissioned to make this known to the Council, so that it was resolved in the end, after deliberating a long time yet with little opposition, to give a decided refusal to the alliance. But the answer was sent to the twelve cantons and Francis I., couched in moderate language, that Zurich would honestly hold to the Perpetual Peace with France, faithfully maintain all the treaties sworn with the Confederates, and not separate herself from them but place life and property at their disposal, that she also begged for the continued good will of France and allegiance to the Confederation on the part of the Swiss; and yet at the same time was firmly resolved henceforth to renounce the pensions of princes and foreign alliances, trusting in the help of God.

From now on every public voice in favor of foreign mercenary service was compelled to silence, and its avowed or secret promoters hid their resentment or left the canton. In fact the most notorious among them threw up their citizenship in Zurich. But the entire party of those, who remained in their native country, conceived the fiercest hatred toward Zwingli.

"He was blamed," says Bullinger, "most of all for having prevented the union by his preaching and divided a brave confederacy. The distinguished pensioners and soldiers, as well as others, who had heretofore run after him and praised his sermons, now reviled Zwingli as a heretic. Many, to whom religion had never any special charms before, now pretended a great interest on its behalf, saying, they would defend the old, true faith against the heretic Zwingli, yet the secret of their zeal was not in their faith, but in the bags of the royal exchequer. Hence there arose among the other confederates a strong hostility against Zurich and abuse and slander against Zwingli." Still the cause of the people and the uprightness and fidelity, which maintains an oath, triumphed in the end.

The ground-pillar of all national prosperity is confidence, faith on the part of the people in their government, and on that of the government in the sound and just sense of the people. No constitution or laws, sacred as they may be in the eyes of the honorable citizen, no so-called policy, which rests on a system of deceptions, no rude strength of a dominant party, can ever supply the place of faith—faith, which alone inspires to nobler action. Hence the necessity in the state for religion also, which is the same as faith purified. In every wise government therefore it will be a chief concern that the religion of the people be a sound one, *i. e.* one that will be justified by its practical results, for in regard to these only can we look for unanimity of opinion.

Christianity, freed from all the unwarranted additions with which national prejudice, narrowness and love of spiritual domination have striven for centuries to disfigure it, has no reason to shun this trial, out of which it can only come forth more glorious and divine. Of this Zwingli had been fully persuaded by his zealous study of the Holy Scriptures. How naturally the idea rose in his mind, to make this trial before the

people themselves, who had hitherto been bound in the fetters of a religion, which addressed them only by authority, instead of before councils exclusively composed of clergymen and lords! Still, it was a great venture. The weakened eye, when suddenly brought forth from the darkness, is blinded even by the purest light; the healthy one alone can endure the splendor of the sun. And yet upon this very power in a decided majority of his countrymen Zwingli relied, and the memorials, which we have just read, might have fully convinced him that sound sense was really at hand. But ought this claim to be preferred in political matters, and not in ecclesiastical also? Thus much is clear, that from this time forward Zwingli's endeavors took this direction.

If the bishop would deny him a hearing or condemn him contrary to justice, he intended to appeal not to ultra-montane Rome, ignorant of the German language and the German character, but to the judgment of his own nation, to the decision of an independent government entitled to act in the case, and the rule should be the Holy Scriptures, an unassailable code of laws acknowledged by all. And thus the fundamental idea of the Reformed Church naturally arose, which in its development has been more clearly defined rather than corrupted,—limited rather than extended. To follow out and discuss this subject is not our business; hence we turn back to Zwingli.

He had now preached for three whole years in Zurich, and the agitation, as we have seen, was certainly great. Still no one had as yet violated existing church-usages or actually assailed them. No opportunity for public interference on the part of the temporal and spiritual authorities had yet occurred. Indeed it was the policy of the Nuncio to keep in with the influential Reformer, since, as the deputy of a prince then at war with France, he was proscribed by the other twelve cantons, and could only hope for protection in neutral Zurich, where he anxiously sought it.

During Lent, in the year 1522, several individuals ventured for the first time to transgress the episcopal ordinance in regard to the eating of meat, in a dissimilar manner it is true. Christopher Froschauer, a printer, having in the course of his business visited the Frankfort Fair, and become thus acquainted with Luther's writings and a witness of the spiritual awakening in Germany, had, when compelled by labor severer than usual, partaken along with his workmen of more strengthening food than was allowed, yet without concealment on the one hand and without seeking publicity on the other. For quite different reasons William Roubli, an outlawed clergyman from Basel, whom Zwingli himself has styled a rash and foolish babbler, and Hans Gunt-helm, an impudent deserter, had not only done the same with great parade and loose talk, but had attempted also to induce other families to join them. Gladly did Zwingli's enemies seize this opportunity to lodge complaints before the Council. An investigation was held and Froschauer defended himself with dignity. The Council desired the opinion of the chapter of canons, the three people's priests in the two cathedrals and at the church of St. Peter, and thus the battle began in the very midst of the authorities. The parties were nearly balanced, more talent on the one side, greater numbers on the other.

The result was an affirmation of the rights of the Pope and the bishops, and a feeble explanation, which left the government free scope to act for itself—and it all ended in a simple reprimand to the transgressors. But Zwingli's opponents were by no means satisfied. They applied now to the bishop, and a few days after, Melchior Vattli, suffragan of Constance, John Wanner, cathedral-preacher, and Doctor Brendlin appeared with an embassy to the chapter of canons. At this very first interference of the high ecclesiastical dignitaries, the affair took a direction, which it retained in every step that followed.

What Zwingli himself has to say in regard to this event deserves careful attention.*

"When"—he writes to his friend, the canon Erasmus Fabricius, then pastor at Stein—"on the seventh of April the ambassadors, of whose approach I had already been apprized, had reached Zurich, I wished much to learn what their purpose might be. But night had set in, before my faithful assistant, Henry Luethy, came with the news, that the *notarius* (as he is called) had an order to summon all the priests to attend early in the morning in the hall of the convent. I esteemed it a good omen, that the business was to be opened by a courser so dull and limping. Scarcely had we assembled on the morrow, when the bishop began in a fashion, which I will portray further on in the conduct of affairs before the Council. The whole speech was violent, threatening and haughty, although he carefully abstained from any personal allusions to myself and even avoided calling me by name. His declamation over, I stepped out, thinking it unbecoming and pusillanimous not to neutralize an address, that might do so much injury, especially because I could perceive by their smothered sighs, and read in the paleness of their faces the strong impression it had made on several priests, who shortly before had been won over to the Gospel and were not yet firm as rocks. Concisely and boldly I replied to the suffragan; in what sense and spirit, let the valiant ones, who have heard me, judge. The most important part of it you will learn meanwhile, when I come to describe the session of the Council. The speakers withdrew from this wing, as though he were beaten or put to flight, and hastened to another field of combat, namely the hall of the

* Only the first and shorter part of Zwingli's Latin letter is here translated; the second and larger, which, based on numerous passages of Scripture, contains Zwingli's vindication and belongs more to theology than history, will be quoted again merely in its leading features.

Council, where, as some of the members informed me, they brought it forward, likewise sparing my name, yet with the declaration, lest I might perhaps be called in, that they had nothing to do with me. After a short discussion, it was resolved to have as full a meeting of the Great Council as possible on the following day, and also to guard against the admission of the people's priests, as there was no dependence to be placed on them and their language, so unexceptionable, could not be contradicted. Through the whole day I tried my utmost to gain admission for us, but in vain. The burgomasters refused me, falling back on the resolution of the Council. I was now compelled to retire, but besought Him, who hears the sighing of the prisoner, that he would not leave the truth helpless, and that he would protect His Gospel, which he had commissioned me to preach. On the ninth the Great Council came together. 'It is unfair,' many were heard to say, 'if the people's priests are not allowed to appear;' but the Small Council protested, holding firmly to its resolution. Nevertheless the vote was carried against its protest, and the majority decided in favor of our presence with the privilege at the same time of making replies, if we should find it necessary. Thus, as Livy says, the greater number did not overcome the better; no, the greater *and* the better triumphed. Not in the least degree do I permit myself to censure the Small Council for this; no: I wish only to show how powerless intrigues are. Now, after the ambassadors had been introduced, they suffered us also to enter, *the bishops of Zurich*, Henry Engelhart, doctor and people's priest at the cathedral of the Virgin—Rudolph Roeschli of St. Peter, and me Ulric Zwingli.

"After the exchange of salutations and the episcopal benediction the suffragan began with a voice so mild that I never heard a sweeter, so that if head and heart had only been in unison, Orpheus and Apollo would have been obliged to yield

to him in grace, and Demosthenes and the Gracchi in eloquence. In vain would I attempt to communicate to you the discourse entire. It was confused and much too long. Meanwhile I had noted down the chief points in my tablets. It is greatly to be deplored—said he—that there are some who teach in a perverse and rebellious spirit that we are no longer bound to observe human precepts and ceremonies. Thus not merely the civil laws, but the faith of all Christendom also must go to the ground. Yet ceremonies are a *manuduction* (he employed this word, instead of the German “introduction,” before men, who did not understand Latin) to virtue. Indeed ceremonies are a *source* (he afterwards denied having used the word) of virtues. We may teach that fasting is superfluous, because some have dared to separate themselves from other Christians and from the church by the eating of meat. We may appeal to the Holy Scriptures, whilst they contain no direct expressions bearing on the subject, and go against the decrees and Councils of the Holy Fathers of the Church, against most venerable usages, which without the aid of the Holy Ghost could not possibly have endured so long, for Gamaliel once said: If the work be of God, it will stand. Then he reminded the Council that outside of the Church no one can be saved, and, as though he had not talked enough, he came back once more to ceremonies. At last he concluded with a neat peroration and rose up to retire along with his companions.

“Sir Suffragan—said I, (I, peasant, ought to have used “Gracious Lord”)—may it please you and your associates to stay, till I have justified myself in my own name and in that of my colleagues? He replied—We have no commission to dispute. I do not intend to dispute but to utter publicly and freely what I have hitherto taught in presence of these honest men, before you, learned scholars and ambassadors present with a commission from the bishop, so that it will be deemed the

more worthy of belief if you yourself are obliged to find it true; if not, then let the contrary happen. We have not—said the saffragan—spoken against you, hence there is no need of your vindication. You have indeed kept back my name; but your speech was none the less aimed at me. As the combatant in the water said to his antagonist, you say to me: My blow is not aimed at you, it is aimed at the fish. For this reason you were not to use my name, because you could thus charge me, who am called Zwingli, with the greatest crime in the safest manner. Whilst we were contending in this style, the burgomaster Roist tried to induce the deputies from Constance to give us a hearing. The suffragan answered, that he knew very well whither this thing would lead; that Ulric Zwingli was too violent and rude, so that he could not meddle with him honorably and keep the path of moderation. By what then—I asked—have I ever injured you? Or according to what law must I, an innocent man, zealous for the cause of Christ, be so heavily and bitterly assaulted, and yet not be allowed to defend myself? Indeed—or do I deceive myself? I would have ventured to hope, that the Bishop of Constance, though opposition to the pure doctrines of the Gospel had found foothold elsewhere, before he took the words of others instead of mine, would make himself acquainted with the whole affair, especially through you, whom he has now chosen as his legates on account of your learning. What would you do if in your absence I would turn to the Council and refuse to hear you as judges? And now, since I wish your presence so much, in order to be able to give in an account, how dare you deny me? The deputies repeated what they had said before. If I wished to lay anything before the bishop, in regard to his doctrine, I could write to him. Now—said I—if no arguments can persuade you to show me this favor, I beg you by our common faith, our common baptism, for the sake of Christ our Lord and Saviour, if you durst

not listen as ambassadors, do it then as Christians. Here arose an indignant murmur among the councillors and at last, being exhorted by the burgomaster, and feeling themselves the unworthiness of the opposition, they took possession of their former places."

The people's priest began now by referring to the internal harmony of Zurich and her peaceful position toward foreign countries. He asked whether these could be a result of seditious doctrines, and such especially as were derived from the Gospel, which commands us to render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and obey our rulers? He showed what human ordinances were, and denied that he rejected them without discrimination. Their beneficial tendency ought to be proven, and they, who enjoin them, ought to observe them also. He had never encouraged a violation of the rules of fasting, but rather advised them to be kept, in order to spare the weak. Yet he esteemed such restraint pharisaical and in conflict with the letter and spirit of the Gospel. Vattli was about to make objections, when Engelhart drew out his Greek Testament, and, having opened it at the beginning of the fourth chapter of the First Epistle to Timothy, handed it to Zwingli. Zwingli translated the passage. Then the suffragan said nothing on this point, but exhorted the Council to respect the decrees of the Fathers and their usages, and not to sunder themselves from the Church. "Do not suffer yourselves to be persuaded, my dear lords"—replied Zwingli—"that anything permitted by us can produce such an effect. Among all people, he who does righteousness and loves God, he who believes the words of Jesus and follows Him, belongs to his Church."—This was succeeded by many speeches on one side and the other, which gradually became so warm that the burgomaster dissolved the meeting. But a unanimous resolution was passed by the Great Council, to request the Bishop, so to influence the highest au-

thorities that by means of a council of learned men and synods an opportunity should be afforded for explanation and reply in regard to the point in dispute. The people's priests were to be exhorted meanwhile to enforce obedience to the rules of fasting.

By this important event, happening in the midst of the highest authorities of the canton, the fire, which had hitherto existed only in scattered sparks was now suddenly fanned into a clear blaze. The laity and priests, the bishop, the government and even the Confederates took steps, which compelled Zwingli, in the course of the same year to vindicate himself on all sides, to buckle on his armor for the conflict and declare himself openly.

The canon Hoffman, stirred up by the legation of the Bishop, was the first to take the field. A good scholar of the old type, pure in his morals, in former years a frank and fearless orator of the people, devoted, as was natural for an old man, to the forms in which he had moved during a long life, he esteemed it a duty to defend them, and that so much the more, because he was summoned to the task by the other clergy. He was lacking, however, in two particulars. According to his own confession he had heard Zwingli but seldom. Still he received as truth what was reported to him about his sermons, and boasted too much of his riper experience against a man scarce forty years old. Making skillful use of these weak points, the armed warrior advanced the more resolutely against the rusted weapons of his antagonist. The old man could not maintain his position. At a later period he once more regained his courage, and certainly it must be said to his honor, that, though vanquished, he did not shun the knightly combat.

With great bluntness, and not to a limited circle of associates like Hoffman, the monks poured out their wrath from the convent-pulpits. The more tasteless, silly, and ridiculous their

revilings were, the more did they expose themselves to the edge of Zwingli's keen argument and wit. Without mercy he fell upon these people, among whom, as far as the monasteries of the city are concerned, not a single one is known, to whose praise anything can be said. We need only read his writings to see how, dealing blow upon blow, he pursued them into every corner, and brought out the truth in the clearness of sunlight against their loose harangues. But then, in the pride of victory he suffered himself to run perhaps into an extreme, which did not comport well with the earnestness of the pulpit or of controversy conducted in a dignified manner, and zealous use was made of this fact to his reproach.*

Remarkable phenomena began to develop themselves from this pulpit-battle against the monks. Hot-headed characters, old and young, impelled sometimes by a conviction of the truth, but oftener by conceit and a desire to make a noise in the world, interrupted the awkward preachers in the midst of their discourses, and accused them of teaching error and even lies. A tumult arose in the church. It might easily become a theatre of dishonorable strife. The Council arrested several of the most violent of these stormers and forbade all such disorderly behavior in future. Already the monks were in hopes they had won the day; but Zwingli did not suffer them to escape, and probably at his suggestion the preachers of the three orders were unexpectedly summoned to the house of the provost, where with a deputation from the government, the burgomaster Roist at its head, the three people's priests, the com-

* Thus, for example, after some cutting expressions, he uses the words:

“Very learned Father,
Full and plump,
Open the swollen syllogism,
Or the foul hoof
Must give way.”

mander Schmied and all the canons were assembled, and Zwingli, being called on, began to read aloud from a written document to each individual, the errors which he had taught. They were greatly amazed, and denied some things, but admitted others. An attempt was now made to have the chapter of canons appointed as umpire and mediator, but Zwingli instantly opposed it with all his might: "I"—said he—"am bishop and pastor in Zurich; to me the care of souls is committed, and I have given my oath thereon; the monks not. They should hear me, not I them. Indeed, if they ever again preach lies, I will mount the pulpit and rebuke them publicly." Only in the conviction of his own strength durst he venture to use such language. Only their felt weakness struck his opponents dumb. Dr. Engelhart and the Commander Schmied also sided with Zwingli. The Councils saw themselves obliged to follow the men of learning, and the burgomaster concluded the act with the words: "Yes, Masters of the Orders, this is also the opinion of my colleagues, that henceforth you must preach the Gospel, Paul and the Prophets, and let Scotus, Thomas* and such stuff lie."

The monks, compelled now to restrain themselves somewhat in the pulpit, renewed their attacks the more stubbornly in private houses, confessionals, drinking-gardens and wherever else they could do so with safety. From Bunden, Constance, Luzern and Schwyz reports of their calumnies reached him through his friends. Nothing pained him so much as that he should be charged with distorting the Gospel. "Though I had firmly resolved"—so he says in a sermon—"not to answer those, who invented stories as to how many children were born to me this year, and as to how much money I got from princes and lords, yet I never could bear that such slander should be believed concerning me. Any one may say what he

* Obscure teachers of a former age.

pleases about my morals, but blasphemy I will not tolerate." But then, the best citizens of Zurich roused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm clung to him, especially the younger generation, who trooped around him like a body-guard; and besides these, friends sprang up beyond the canton on all sides, who came out boldly, or watched over him in secret, were active on his behalf, and sympathized in his struggles. In Luzern, Myconius and the canon Kilchmeier advocated his cause even against statesmen and envoys of the Confederacy with danger to themselves, holding out as long as it was possible. In St. Gall, the same thing was done by Vadianus, who had returned from Vienna and settled in his native city; in Constance by the prebendary Wanner, who, when a member of the episcopal embassy, had been won over by the weight of his arguments; in Bern by the Franciscan, Sebastian Meier, and in Freiburg by the youthful organist Kother, who expressed his love for him in verses after the manner of a capuchin-sermon. Martin Sænger, a native of Graubunden, sent him a poem against his and Luther's enemies, from the fictitious pen of the Abbot von Pfæffers, with the request that he would revise and prepare it for publication. He also received an evidence of faithful friendship in an anonymous letter of a more serious kind, written half in Latin and half in Greek. "Keep a special guard over thy health and life"—so it runs—"for it is high time. Verily thou art everywhere begirt by snares and spies; sharp poison is ready for thee. The knaves durst no longer rail against thee openly. But in secret they are plotting to mingle poisonous mushrooms with thy food, as was done for the emperor Claudius. Hence take as much care of thyself as possible. If thou art hungry, then eat at home bread, which thine own maid has baked. Abroad thou canst eat nowhere with safety. There are persons living within your walls, who will venture everything to destroy thee. Who they are, from what

oracle I have learned their design, I cannot write thee; but it utters more truth than that of the Delphian Apollo; yet it were a gross sin in a priest to give names either by mouth or pen. Thou art sharp-sighted, and able to guess with ease, whence that has come, which, out of brotherly love, could not be withholden from thee. Preserve thyself for thine own sake, for thy followers, for the cause of Christ, whose Gospel is proclaimed by you with such blessed results. Whoever I may be, I am thine. Thou wilt find out hereafter." This was the case. The writer was Michael Hummelberg, preacher at Ravensburg. Of the same import were the warnings of others, to guard the approaches to his dwelling, to take care, if he should be called from home, the breaking of his windows by stones hurled at them, and the attack, which was actually made one night on his assistant as he was about to go forth at the feigned call of a sick person, instead of the people's priest, who was expected by the bandits.

How little power all this had to frighten Zwingli from the course he had marked out for himself, is seen in a yet bolder step, which he took the same year—the sending of a petition to the Bishop of Constance in the Latin language and to the governments of the Confederacy in German, asking them to approve the marriage of priests. No proof is needed to show that the noblest endeavor of man is after self-rule, spiritual purification, the attainment of the supernatural. A few rarely-gifted individuals press up this steep path with ease; by far the greater number follow slowly and with toil. Before deliverance from the fetters of earth, no one achieves a complete victory. This world is a school, not the home of perfection. They, who are nearest the goal, know best how far they are yet distant from it. The following reflections are suggested by this subject.

The statesman, zealous for the good of his country, as well as the thinker, busied with the higher interests of mankind in

general, must both acknowledge in the difference and mutual wants of the sexes, in their union by marriage, the chief source of all civilization, the ground-pillar of all domestic, social and political well-being. Far be it from us to oppose merely natural impulses to purity of heart, endeavors after improvement, struggles for self-dominion; nay rather, marriage requires and makes all these the more easy. What victories over ease and self, what offerings of renunciation do not our duties to husbands, wives and parents demand? They are only the purer and nobler, because they spring from love, not compulsion. Still more—it is proved by all experience, that just in proportion as the marriage tie is worthily apprehended and held sacred, the heart is at the same time expanded with love for all men, and the sharing of common joys and sorrows in our own families teaches us to understand and share those of others also.

Hence Christianity has declared marriage to be pure and by no means placed him, who feels called to it by God and nature, below another, who has the power or inclination to remain independent in order to labor for the good of his brethren. The latter ought to be highly esteemed, but the choice left free to each one according to his own will, or necessity.

This is not the place to quote the passages, in which the Holy Scriptures speak of marriage, even in the case of preachers of the Gospel, the shepherds of the congregation. They are too numerous, too decided, too striking for any one to overthrow or weaken. Laying hold of these, Zwingli had drawn up the papers just mentioned. Ten of his associates signed with him the one addressed to the Bishop. Others approved of the thing, but did not yet venture to avow it openly. The concluding words of the memorial to the Confederates will here exhibit the character of the author in the clearest light:

“These and many other reasons, derived from the Holy Scriptures, have moved us, O honorable Lords, to petition Your

Worships in regard to marriage, which we design to enter into, yea to make known several among us, who have entered into it, that Your Worships may not be adverse thereto, seeing the great scandal thus given to all men; seeing our wounded consciences, with which we daily attend to the administration of God's Word and the sacraments, though everywhere our continual weakness is acknowledged and no peace is left to us. Therefore we exhort Your Worships as our Fathers (for we have all sprung from one glorious Confederacy, and are yours and of yours); by God, our Creator, who made us all of *one* clay, so that we recognize each other as brethren; by the blood of Jesus Christ, which he shed for all alike, so that no one can claim for himself more than another; by the Holy Ghost, who is God, and in all his illuminations and inspirations has never forbidden marriage to the priesthood, but rather enjoined it: Take pity on us, your true and willing servants, so that, though it be not sinful for us before God, it may not be shameful for us before men. And since we have been faithfully devoted to your honor all our lives long at home and abroad, grant us deliverance from this disgrace of unchastity, that we may lead honorable lives among you. For it were indeed unkind, if they, whose honor we have increased, would not at once place us in an honorable position, not only before friends and associates, but strangers also. Not in *one* hour of calamity *only*, have we shared love and sorrow with you, and ever adhered to you as good, honest people. We have not been prompted to bring this before Your Worships by a spirit of wantonness, but by a desire after pious, conjugal purity. For had it been by wanton desires, these might have been better gratified by having no wives. We also know well that troubles, cares and labors attend the married estate. We know well how very easily we can, any day, abandon the women with whom we have taken up. Therefore it has not been suggested by

wanton desires, but by shame and love for the souls, committed to our care, that they do not become eternally polluted. The greater part of us have worn out our children's shoes, and are nearer 40 than 30 years of age. You should not listen to those who may cry out and cast up unjustly many things against us on the other side. 'How dare they marry? Have they not taken an oath of chastity?' Hear this, gracious Lords! No one has promised chastity in other words than those I will now write. The Bishop, when about to consecrate a priest, asks if he will remain pure; the candidate answers: 'Yes, as far as human frailty can bear and suffer.' See, gracious Lords! with this condition have we sworn and not otherwise. This we can prove by the Lord Bishop himself, but there is no need of it. No one, we hope, will deny it. Since now, neither oath nor promise binds us, and St. Paul speaks as above quoted, suffer yourselves to be moved by this public confession, which we make before you, for, were not the desire of honor so great, we would not have uncovered our shame."

Whatever may be our opinion of this affair, it must be admitted that Zwingli did not wish to appear better than he really was. Nothing was more foreign to him all his life long than hypocrisy. For this we ought not to honor him, but the Lord and Master, whose word he proclaimed. Wholly unconcerned about the reproach it might occasion, the author took the position we have represented. A noble spirit was never yet injured by candor; but hypocrisy has ruined millions weaker. Truth no less than love is a fundamental requirement of the Gospel.

The astonishment, to which this step gave rise on all sides, can readily be imagined. It was so much the greater, because Zwingli had purposely provided for a wider circulation of the Latin and German memorials, and sent copies of them to his friends for gratuitous distribution. Neither from the Bishop

nor the governments did he receive any answer. The decision in the department of Zurich was very decided and of the most favorable character, as might be expected. From Luzern, Myconius wrote to him: "Only a few give their approval to your petitions. Many express neither praise nor blame. They say: 'You attempt a thing you can never carry out. The Bishop, yea the Pope cannot grant your request. Only a Council can do it.' The priests are dissatisfied. How the people think, I do not know. This much only I can see, that they neither know, nor wish to know anything about the Gospel. The demon of war has laid hold of them. They are blind to all that is higher." The prebendary Botzheim of Constance informed Vadianus that there was a powerful movement among the people. The canon Kilchmeier at Luzern, and Trachsel, pastor at Art, who had signed with Zwingli, as well as John Zimmerman of Luzern and the assistant Bernhardin of Cham put their lives in jeopardy by betrothing themselves, and were compelled to prepare for flight. Even in Zurich, though individuals gave Zwingli a firm support, there was yet a wide gulf between approval and simple permission of public marriage by the authorities.

Just then the Government of Zurich was obliged to be particularly prudent in its relations to the other Confederates. An immediate result of this step of Zwingli was, that ecclesiastical innovations were for the first time discussed at the diet, in the summer of the year 1522. Urban Weiss, pastor at Fislispach, in the bailiwick of Baden, though a member of the Zurich chapter, as he returned from a meeting of his associates, declared from the pulpit, by their unanimous resolution, that henceforth nothing should be preached, except it could be proven by the Holy Scriptures—hence, that the saints ought to be no longer invoked, that the marriage of priests was in no wise contrary to the commandments of God, and as soon as it

was approved, (and he hoped it would be shortly,) he intended to take a wife himself. The Bishop complained of him to his superiors at the diet, and new indignation was stirred up amongst them. The pastor would have been led off immediately to prison, had not several of the clergy in connection with the congregation prevented it by heavy bail. But, on their return home, the deputies found the petition of Zwingli, and this made the prospects of the pastor rather worse, so that at the next sitting of the diet, in the beginning of winter, it was actually resolved to send him to Constance.

But the Confederates gave matter for serious thought to the Council of Zurich not by this act alone. In spite of every refusal of the French alliance, in spite of all the vigilance of the authorities, there were still seventeen captains in that service, who succeeded by cunning arts in enticing to themselves several troops of inveterate deserters and disobedient youth, partly citizens of Zurich and partly of other places, and leading them to the army, for which so severe a chastisement was kept in store at Biocca. Justly indignant, the Council ordered all its officers to bring these seducers captive to Zurich, whenever they would again enter the canton; only if they came of their own accord, to answer for their deeds, a safe-conduct should be promised to them. The Confederates declared this proceeding to be a violation of the compact. Zurich appealed to the fourth article of the treaty of Stanz, which was certainly in her favor. But the exasperation increased the more. It rose to a still higher pitch, when Zwingli took occasion from the defeat at Biocca to address a written exhortation "to the oldest Confederates at Schwyz, to beware of foreign lords and to get rid of them." He counted on the aid of his friends there at Einsiedeln, and the clerk of the court, Balthasar Staffer, was his devoted adherent, having at an earlier period received assistance from him during a season of trial in his family. With a per-

ception at once intuitive and full of power he contrasts in this letter the strength of even a small nation, that trusts in God and a good conscience, with the windy boasts of the reigning corruption. "Our ancestors"—says he—"overcame their enemies and established their liberty, by no other power, than that of God. For this end they never slew Christian people for pay, but fought for freedom alone, that their persons, lives, women, children might not be so painfully subject to a licentious nobility. Therefore has God multiplied to them on all sides victory, honor and fortune, so surely, that no lord has ever conquered them, though never so strong; which, without doubt, is not to be attributed to human ability, but to the power and grace of God. Yea, when they defended their fatherland and freedom at Morgarten, Sempach and Näfels, where three hundred and fifty men attacked fifteen thousand for the twelfth time in one day and at last beat them, among whom, ye good people of Schwyz, had thirty, and in many other places, when they went to battle and returned home always with joy and honor, then they rested in peace, stained by no disgrace. But now, since we are lifted up in our own conceit, and think ourselves wise; since we have become filled with pride and boasting, though it is nothing but air; how should we escape not having shame and loss imputed to us by God, though we have spread our names so far with such vainglory: *We* have done this; *we* will do this; *we* can do this; no one is able to withstand *us*; as if we had a covenant with death; although a heavy scourging and punishment passes by, may it not yet come over *us*; since we place our hope in lying and tricks and are protected thereby—just as if we were iron and other men gourds; just as if no one could harm us like the heroes, who saved themselves from the deluge by that enormous pile, the tower of Babel? It is very certain that our pride is not His gift. He waits long, and that only, for us to do better. If we do not, then it will

be done unto us as it was done unto Sodom and Gomorrah." This letter alone, or in connection with other reasons, which may have brought it about, actually prevailed at Schwyz, after a stormy meeting, over the national inclination toward the French, and it was resolved for the next 25 years to reject foreign alliances and pensions; Nidwalden also joined in the resolution. As may easily be imagined, this greatly strengthened the hatred against Zwingli. "Thy truly Christian summons to the people of Schwyz"—writes Berthold Haller from Bern—"is severely condemned among us, indeed, in the highest degree." Embassies were sent to Schwyz and Nidwalden, to warn them back, and one also to Zurich with the request, that if they wished always to keep apart, they would at least abstain from influencing other members of the Confederacy, and keep careful watch over the seditious libels that issued from their city. The government remained firm to the principles laid down for its guidance in political affairs. Transgressors of the prohibition against desertion and pensions were punished with severity and even executed; in ecclesiastical measures it was at variance and wavering.

Zwingli felt more and more, that, though many individuals on all sides were proud of his course and defended his cause, he yet in reality stood alone; that many mad-caps, coming out far more rudely than he, did him more injury by their eccentricities than they gave him help; that his true friends, unless he continually kept them in breath, informed them and encouraged them, were in danger of yielding to faint-heartedness. Even his faithful Myconius wrote to him in such a moment: "What canst thou do, when the whole world speaks against thee, yea, opposes thee with all its powers?" When some, who, on account of his extraordinary acquirements, had ranged themselves among his most prominent supporters, began to draw back, Vadianus became cooler and Erasmus put into his

scanty and formal letters expressions of ill-humor. How worthy of all honor did the man stand here, who did not suffer himself to be bowed by all this!

It was evident to him notwithstanding, that his work, in order to have stability, needed a firmer basis; that the acknowledgment and protection of the government of the canton was indispensable to its success. But the authorities, far more than Zwingli, thought themselves bound to the existing church-order, and no support from them could be counted on against the protest of the bishop. Thus the Reformer had first to come to a clear understanding with them, and the Bishop himself opened the way. He had carefully abstained from instituting an examination of the erroneous doctrines said to be preached in Zurich, after the Council had invited him so to do, and only exhorted the government in general terms to allow no changes in church-matters amongst them; on the contrary he addressed a pastoral letter to the collective clergy of his diocese, complaining of manifold heretical teachings, warning against them, yea, condemning them, as well as a special admonition at the same time to the convent of canons at Zurich not to suffer them in their midst. Not less than sixty nine points of complaint and wishes for amendment were contained in it. When the letter was read before the assembly every eye was turned toward Zwingli. "You find yourselves"—said he—"indebted to me for all these accusations. I desire that they be placed in my hands, so that I can answer." This was done, and now he was determined to battle for life and death against the spiritual powers. Hence a glance at their present condition and influence becomes necessary.

On the 1st of December, 1520, Pope Leo X. died, and on the 9th of January the Cardinals had elected his successor Adrian VI. But he did not come to Rome before the 29th of August. Till then, he staid in Spain as vicegerent of Charles V.,

who was also king of that country. The College of Cardinals, empowered to rule in the interim, had pursued the policy of the deceased Pope in regard to Swiss affairs. Ecclesiastical matters were kept in the background, and Zurich, although verging toward revolt, was treated with special favor, because she not only continued averse to the French alliance, so hated by Rome, but besides this, faithful to former treaties, had dispatched a body of troops for the immediate protection of the Papal government. The short reign of Adrian (he died on the 13th of September, 1523) brought about no change. On the contrary, even by him, who, as Grand Inquisitor in Spain, had seized on Luther's collective writings, brilliant offers were made to Zwingli. Franz Zingg, his friend and the same time chaplain of the Pope, received a commission to treat with him, and expressed himself thus scornfully against Myconius: "In Rome everything will be granted to a bold preacher except the Papal Chair." During the following year, 1523, two letters from Adrian, addressed to Mark Roist and Zwingli, were delivered by the legate Ennius. In the first the burgomaster was assured, that the Pope, fully aware of his public and private services in behalf of the Roman See, would exhort him to persevere in his friendly disposition, that he also was mindful of it, as the legate would detail at large. In the second, to Zwingli, this passage occurs: "Although our legate is enjoined to conduct our affairs with your nation in a public manner, yet, because we have a certain knowledge of thy distinguished merits, and especially love and prize thy loyalty, and also place particular confidence in thy honesty, we have commissioned our chosen Nuncio to hand over to thee separately our letter, and bear witness to our most favorable intentions. We exhort thee also, reverend and faithful in the Lord, to give all credit to it, and with the same disposition, in which we are inclined to remember thy honor and thy profit, to bestir thyself also in our

affairs and those of the Apostolic See, wherefore thou wilt be gladdened by our very special grace."

It is not to be doubted that Adrian had been informed by his legates of the condition of the church in Zurich; still we may be allowed to conjecture at least, why he made another attempt upon Zwingli. Of German descent and himself a friend and judge of German science, conscious moreover of an honest purpose, he might perhaps have cherished the hope, that he would be better able to exert a reconciling influence upon the Germans than his Italian predecessor. On the Saxon Reformer, over whom ban and outlawry had already been pronounced, such a thing was no longer possible; but the Switzer was untouched as yet. Still the Pope was greatly mistaken in regard to him. It was not the person but the court, which Zwingli would avoid. Let us hear what he has to say in regard to the relation in which he stood to the latter, as it appears in the 'Explanation of the Final Discourse:'

"For three whole years now I have preached the Gospel in Zurich with earnestness, for which the Papal cardinals, bishops and legates, whilst the city has not been well spoken of, have often sought to blind me by their friendship, prayers, threats, and promises of large gifts and benefices; these I did not wholly reject, having accepted a pension of 50 florins, which they paid me yearly (indeed they would have given me 100, but I would not be enticed); I had declined it in the year 1517, though they would not stop it till three years after, in 1520, when I refused it in my own hand writing. (I acknowledge my sin before God and all men; for prior to 1516 I adhered too closely to the authority of the Pope, and deemed it becoming to receive money from him, although I always gave the Roman envoys to understand in plain language, when they exhorted me not to preach anything against the Pope: they should not at all expect me to suppress a single word of the

truth for the sake of money, on which account they might either take it back or not, as it pleased them). When now I had laid down the pension, they saw well I would have nothing more to do with them, and then they made public my refusal and receipt, both of which stood in one letter, through a spiritual father, a preacher-monk, for the purpose of driving me off from Zurich by it. But in this they failed, because the honorable Council knew well that I had not spared the Pope in my teachings; that I had not been wrought upon by money; that I had not aided them in their plans, and now for the second time refused a pension; and also, since it was the doctrine of former ages, that I could not be convicted of a violation of honor or my oath. And thus the above-named honorable Council has acknowledged my innocence.—So each and every one may see, if I had wished to enrich myself with the gold of foreign lords, I would not have refused the pension of the Pope, for to receive it from him would have been disgraceful in the least degree to one in clerical orders. But I declare it before the Judge of all men, God, that I have never received pension or wages from prince or lord, or been bribed in any way. And what I do to-day I do alone, because my office demands it of me. I pray also that it may aid in checking the evil. For I would be ever a murderer in the eyes of pious people, if I did not continue to rebuke it severely. I am ready also at all times to give answer to all men for my teachings, my writings and my actions, and dare take it on my soul, that hereafter I will use all diligence to bring the word of God clearly before all men, yet not I will do it, but God, and therefore it deeply concerns me that our glorious Confederacy may remain in existence. Although every one may think of me, as seems good to him, yet I am conscious of innocence in regard to my teaching and actions in that whereof my enemies accuse me. Moreover, though I exceed many men in other faults, yet shall they not

injure the truth of God and a pious government. Let each for God's sake regard in the best light my simple explanation of the affair of the foreign lords, which I might have presented with far greater lustre to my reputation, had I desired it. *For, a few days back, I received a letter from the Pope and mighty verbal commands, which I have answered by God's grace in a Christian manner, without being moved; since I do not doubt, I would become greater than any other man, if the poverty of Christ were not dearer to me than the splendor of the Papists. Let every one regard it in the best light. Since I must look to the wants of many, who have claims on me elsewhere, I ought not to conceal my innocence of the thing in my own spirit, but reply, after the example of Paul, in a becoming manner; for the enemies of Christ often injure his doctrine through my name, against which they utter falsehood; whom I have followed now and to whom, as I hope, done no injustice."*

With this we have enough about Zwingli's relation to the Papal See. That he had broken with it decidedly will be inferred from what has been quoted. By the government also Rome was not particularly feared. It seemed to set more value on its connection with the Bishop, which leads us now to take a glance at affairs in Constance.

Since the year 1496 the episcopal chair in that place was occupied by Hugo of Hohenlandenberg. History has a great deal to tell about his legations in the name of the Emperor, his treaties with the Confederates, his synodal constitutions, his ordinances and his pastoral letters. He was, particularly in his old age, an active, grasping man, restlessly employed in the maintenance and extension of his cathedral chapter, especially of its revenues. Scandalous facts could be adduced to prove the latter. The knowledge of his character made the Confederate governments shy of him, so that he was not always successful in his negotiations with them. In regard to scientific

culture he needed foreign support, and when with the beginning of reform circumstances became more difficult, he was forced to a greater dependence on his vicar-general.

In the latter, who was at an earlier period Zwingli's friend, we now find his most bitter and decided enemy. John Heigerlin, son of a smith in the village of Leutkirch, had, according to the prevailing custom, assumed the Latin name of Faber (Smith). To the clerical estate, to which he devoted himself, after completing his studies in Vienna, he brought talent of no common order, and ambition to turn it to the best account. First a popular preacher in Linden, and esteemed likewise as an author, he afterwards accepted a call from the Bishop of Constance, who, as well as the Diocesan of Basle, wished to have him in his service. At the same time the degree of Doctor of the Common Law was conferred on him by the University of Freiburg. With all the better minds of the age he took a lively interest in the awakening of science, which immediately preceded the Reformation. He it was, who chiefly prevailed on the Bishop to declare against the wretched trade in indulgences, and encouraged Zwingli in his battle against it. Every improvement was altogether right in his eyes, if it only proceeded from the priesthood; every light, so long as it remained under its patronage. But nothing is more foreign to the spirit of caste than the fundamental idea of the Gospel, and between Christianity as represented by it and priestdom (by no means to be confounded with churchdom) the antagonism is irreconcilable. Hence all priestdom is in absolute need of supplements to the Gospel; it must have tradition; it cannot give it up without self-destruction. This is not the place to pursue this observation further; but it could not be wholly overlooked, because thus only are we able to account for the sudden change of feeling in a man liberal in other respects. As late as May 1521, he had ridiculed Doctor Eck, Luther's opponent, and accused

him of traveling to Rome to offer his services to the Pope against Luther; and yet, at the end of the very same year, he himself took the very same road. The extensive circulation of Luther's writings had stirred him up, because by this means religious questions were dragged down to the circle of the people, skillful and unskillful speakers arose among them, individual princes and governments sought to extricate themselves from the fetters of the spiritual power, and against all ordinances of the church, which were not clearly warranted by the Holy Scriptures, a growing indifference prevailed. He himself also wrote from Rome against Luther. "You cunningly strive"—he says in his book—"to subject the spiritual to the worldly, but the Lord will not suffer his anointed (*Christos suos*) to go to the ground." He came back to Constance completely transformed, and his influence was very soon observable here.

In the abduction of the pastor of Fislispach he had a hand, and the pastoral letter of the Bishop, to which we have alluded, as well as the address to the Zurich chapter of canons had, according to the universal opinion, proceeded from him. We saw that Zwingli put off answering the letter. He took some time for it. But then an ample vindication appeared. "May your Highness, illustrious Chief Shepherd"—he thus begins—"pardon, if I trouble you with this paper in your manifold labors. The Lord procure it a hearing! For six years I have preached the Gospel, and am now represented to thee not as a dutiful guardian, but as a robber and destroyer in the sheep-fold. By their continual, unwearied outcries they have prevailed on you to send an admonition, as illiterate as it is unbecoming, to the chapter of our convent. Thou wouldst have done nothing of the kind of thine accord; thou couldst not have written, of thyself, anything so vain and boasting; thou wouldst also have made known thy thoughts to us in the German language. Therefore I send thee this epistle called *Archeteles*, because 1

hope it is the beginning and end of my quarrel with thy counsellors." After this somewhat diffuse introduction follow the sixty-nine points of complaint, again printed, and an answer appended to each one separately. As he proceeds in the letter we see his courage and assurance increase; the style becomes bolder, his judgment more decided, and the interwoven sallies of wit more cutting, till here again in a feeling of triumph, and prompted by the lugubrious tone of the last point of the Bishop, he gives a mock-review of it somewhat in the manner of the litany:

That we may remain in the unity of our Holy Mother, the Church;—for this we beseech thee, O Lord, hear us.

That we may obey our Superiors, *i. e.* the pious governments;—for this we beseech Thee, hear us.

That Thou wilt teach the false bishops humility enough not to think themselves supreme lords but co-pastors, according to the word of Peter; for this we beseech Thee.

That Thou wilt enlighten them with thy light, first to acknowledge Thy true Church itself;—for this we beseech Thee, hear us.

That Thou wilt open for them the fountains of living water;—for this we beseech Thee, hear us.

From the troubled fountains, which they have dug, out of which no wholesome water flows;—set us free, O Lord.

From the intolerable burdens, which they have piled upon the shoulders of Christians;—deliver us, O Lord.

Command them to bear and to do what they require from others.

And if they cannot be brought by other means to make Thy yoke easy to us and Thy burden light—force them to it, O Lord.

From his continued good-will toward Erasmus, Zwingli had sent him a copy of this production. But the tone of it did not

please the elder and more considerate friend, although he himself in former years had made sparing use neither of ridicule nor censure. "I adjure thee"—he wrote—"by the honor of the Gospel, to which, as I know, thou hast consecrated thy whole heart, as we are all bound to do, that thou wilt treat serious things in a serious manner, and not forget evangelical modesty and prudence. Take counsel first from thy learned friends, before thou makest anything public. I fear thy apology will bring thee into great danger and be prejudicial to the Gospel." Though Zwingli felt the warning and returned thanks, it was not able to change his mind. For directly after the appearance of the Latin *Archeteles* he lent a helping hand in the publication of an address designed for the people, which was still more rough in its language. It consisted of comments on the above-quoted pastoral letter of the Bishop, and was edited anonymously and scattered everywhere by the Franciscan, Sebastian Meier of Bern, and his friends. A single passage, and that not one of the most severe, may serve to show its spirit:

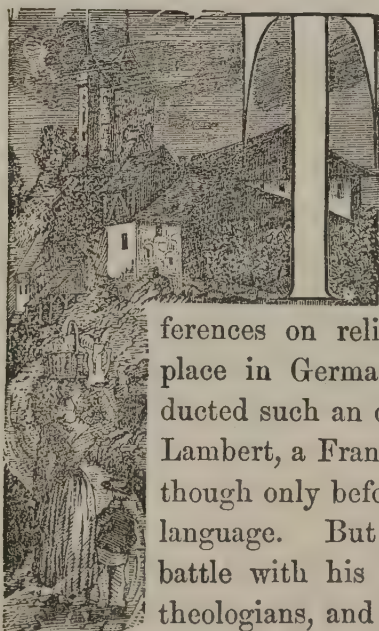
"Dost thou see, dear Christian, where the shoe pinches them? They complain that Paul is preached. He pictures them so near to the life, and points out the office of the true bishop. When we preach up this, then a sheep can see, that those horned idols are not bishops but carnival-spectres, and such as the children make on St. Claus' day. Would to God they were as harmless! Why has it not vexed them that Aristotle, Cicero, fables, examples, Scotus, Thomas and silly stories are preached? I will tell thee. It does not injure them in their pomp. But Paul, who is now by common consent preached in many places, is consistent with himself, and pierces them in their princely splendor, voluptuous wantonness, and insatiable avarice. Hence they complain. Dear youngers, because you deal thus with facts and Paul teaches the contrary, what shape will you take, if we preach St. Peter? He snatches off your

hoods and shows as well as St. Paul what horned cattle you are."

It is easy to see that writings like these must have made the breach incurable, and we durst suppose, that Zwingli himself perceived the possibility of it, and in such an event was clear in his resolves. The end of the subordinate relation of Zurich to the Bishop, as well as the beginning of a changed order, was closely connected with the *Archeteles*. For the origin and founding of this new church-government we pass on to the following chapter.

CHAPTER THIRD.

RELIGIOUS CONFERENCE IN ZURICH. THE GOVERNMENT TAKES THE PLACE OF THE BISHOP FOR THE PROTECTION AND SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE NATIONAL CHURCH.



THE breach between the government of Zurich and those, who, up to this time, stood at the head of ecclesiastical affairs, was as yet by no means so decided as in the case of Zwingli. He doubtless wished it might become so. Public conferences on religious subjects had already taken place in Germany, and Zwingli himself had conducted such an one, held between him and Francis Lambert, a Franciscan monk, to a triumphant issue, though only before a narrow circle and in the Latin language. But now he determined to venture battle with his enemies before all the clergy and theologians, and compel them to an open acknowledgement that his doctrine was in conformity with Scripture. With this idea he first of all made his hearers familiar in several sermons. Then, sure of the approval of his design by the majority, he turned to the Great Council with the prayer, that, in the deliberate and entire neglect to act on the part of the Bishop, they would appoint such a public convocation. This

gave rise to a lively and earnest debate. It could not escape the older statesmen how readily results, not to be foreseen, flow from a violation of forms, whilst others, looking at events in Germany, the humor of the people, and the growing indifference toward the ordinances of ecclesiastical courts, trembled less at the approaching transformation; nay, the boldest and most decided ardently wished it. In fact, the resolution to grant Zwingli's petition was at last carried. Besides, the Council could justify itself with the Bishop by his own inactivity, by his refusal of the just prayer to institute a synod or convocation of learned men for the examination of the Reformer's doctrine. Thus he had only himself to blame, if part of the power, which he might yet have been able to secure, was already taken from him by the public proclamation of Zurich, dated January 3d, 1523. The substance of this paper is contained in the following extract:

"We, the burgomaster and Small and Great Councils of the city of Zurich, to all the clergy in our diocese our salutation and favorable regard. Discord and dissension have sprung up among us between the preachers. Some believe they have proclaimed the Gospel faithfully and fully; on the contrary others affirm that these same persons sow error, mislead their hearers, and are heretics, whilst they on their part at all times and to every one declare themselves ready to be judged by God's Word. Therefore with the best intentions and for the sake of God's honor, peace and Christian unity, it is our will that ye ministers, pastors and preachers, all in general and each in particular, or even other priests, who may have a mind to speak, to inveigh against or else to instruct the opposite party, appear before us on the day succeeding Emperor Charles' day at early council-time at our council-house, and when ye dispute, to do it with appeal to the genuine Scripture in the German tongue and language. With all diligence will we, with

the aid of several learned men, note down, whether it seems good to us, and, if it accord with the Holy Scripture, send each one home with the command to go on or leave off; so that every one may not preach from the pulpit without warrant, only what seems good to him. We will also point out this to our gracious Lord of Constance, so that your Grace or your deputies, as you wish, may be there also. But if any one should be so perverse as not to produce the real Divine Scripture, we will call him to account—of whom we would rather be rid. We hope God will illumine us with the light of his truth, that we may be able to walk as children of the light.”

Thus it was no longer the Bishop, nor those, who were spiritual lords heretofore, nor even the Pope, who should declare whether the doctrine preached in Zurich was that of the church. Whether it agreed with the Holy Scripture, this alone should be proven, and whether Zwingli or his opponents had justified themselves as its true interpreters, on that would the government decide—a view indeed directly opposed to the Roman Catholic stand-point. It was a real violation of rule in the Bishop not to lay an interdiction, and, if Zurich still persevered, to break off all ecclesiastical intercourse with her. But revenues were due in the Zurich district; worldly relations existed with its government; these appeared to him to require indulgence. Besides, the number of faithful adherents was still considerable. Should they be abandoned? Might not affairs in some unexpected way take a more favorable turn? Could not the envoys succeed in one thing, if not to prevent a complete revolt, at least to postpone it? Hence the resolution of the Bishop to send notwithstanding an embassy to Zurich. This was composed of John Faber, Fritz von Anwyl, steward of the Bishop, and Doctor Bergenhaus, to whom was yet added Doctor Martin Blausch of Tuebingen.

In the mean time Zwingli, who by no means lost sight of the

fact that the government, which was about to assume the place of the Bishop, ought to show itself worthy of the post by its actions and opinions, began more earnestly than ever to watch over the improvement and maintenance of good morals, and with unwearied zeal wove into his sermons to the Councils exhortations to this effect. These were not in vain. Ordinances were passed for the better control of the taverns, of the young people, and the hordes of traveling scholars; singing girls were banished from the city, and even four members of the Small Council, who lived in notorious adultery, were excluded from all its sessions for half a year, in order to reclaim them.

But now Charles' day had come, and universal attention was directed to the grave assembly about to meet on the next morning. The Council had sent a letter of invitation to the diet held at Baden on the first day of the year. This was simply noticed in the recess, without further action, because the matter was thought to concern Zurich alone. No one came, with the exception of Doctor Sebastian Hoffmeister from Schaffhausen, and the Franciscan Sebastian Meier from Bern; the latter, however, of his own accord, without public commission. A few days before, Zwingli had compiled and written down in haste, seventy-six propositions, which contained the sum of what his opponents objected to, and the substance of his doctrines. He concluded this small paper with these words: "Let no one undertake to contend here with sophistry or trifles, but let him come with the Scripture. It is to be regarded as the judge; by it we may find the truth; or rather it has thus been found, as I hope and maintain."

It was the second false step of Faber, that, after such a condition laid down by Zwingli, and approved by the Council, he yet came to Zurich, or did not from the first emphatically protest against it. The very practices of the Roman Church,

which were most conspicuous and vulnerable, stood in such direct contradiction to the letter and spirit of the Gospel, that he, who would defend them from the Holy Scriptures, even with the greatest skill, was already beaten beforehand. Not only Zwingli and the more thoroughly instructed of his associates were convinced of this, but, taught by his preaching, the greater part of those present also; among whom were a numerous host of youth, ready for the combat, who had zealously read the Holy Scriptures for themselves. In their varying looks were seen expectation, confidence, and contempt of their enemies. The judicial demeanor of the Councils, the confused behavior of those, who, by their boasting and thoughtless speeches, betrayed their ignorance, the excitement among the mass of the people gave the assembly a peculiar expression. "I thought"—says Faber in a letter describing it—"I had come to Picardy."*

Meanwhile, arming himself with as much firmness as possible, he and his co-deputies took the places assigned them. A hundred and eighty members of the two Councils had arrived. Of the public teachers, doctors, canons and the other clergy few were wanting; and the number of strangers present was also considerable. All the spaces before the open doors, where anything was to be seen or heard, were filled with citizens and country people. In a vacant circle, reserved in the middle, sat Zwingli alone by a table, on which lay copies of the Bible in different languages.

The burgomaster Roist began: "Very learned and worthy Lords, hitherto dissension has frequently arisen in the city and canton of Zurich in regard to the doctrines of our preacher, Master Ulric Zwingli. By some he is reviled as a seducer of the people, by others as a heretic. The disturbance among the

* A French province, according to the prevailing opinion in former times, a strong hold of sectarianism, of heresy so-called.

priests and laity increases, and every day complaints are laid before my fellow-councilors. From the open pulpit Master Ulric has offered to justify his doctrine, if it be granted him to hold a public disputation in the presence of all, both of the clergy and the laity. We have permitted him to do this in the German language before the Great Council. We have summoned thereto all the people's priests and pastors of our Canton, and entreated also the Very Reverend Lord and Prince, the Bishop of Constance. We thank him particularly for sending us his worthy legation. So, to whomsoever it is displeasing or doubtful, what Master Ulric has uttered in the pulpit here at Zurich; whoever may be able to show, that his preaching and doctrine are seditious or heretical; let him prove his error to him here present from the Divine Scripture, so that my fellow-councilors may be relieved henceforth of the daily complaints about disunion and discord, with which they are troubled by clergy and laity."

The steward of the Bishop now rose up. "My gracious Lord"—said he—"is well aware that at present, in all parts of his princely Grace's diocese, strife and discord, touching doctrines or sermons have sprung up, and since he never has refused, and does not now refuse, to show himself gracious, kind and willing, in all that promotes peace and unity, he has sent us hither as his ambassadors, at the special request and information of an honorable, wise Council at Zurich, where disunion chiefly reigns. Having listened to the reasons of this discord, we are to give them the best advice in the case; nothing else than may redound to the welfare of an honorable Council at Zurich, as well as an estimable priesthood. Therefore we are willing, for the sake of peace and unity, to aid in composing the discord; so that friendship may continue among a worthy priesthood, till my Lord, together with his theologians and prelates, has further considered and decided in regard to the matter."

Thus had the adroit courtier wisely marked out the only position which the episcopal embassy could maintain with honor. Affirming simply the power of the Church to judge and her duty to reconcile those at variance, they ought in no wise to take sides, but rather join with the government as umpire, and at all hazards, have the last word reserved for the Bishop. How much humiliation would not Faber have been spared, if he had not suffered himself to be enticed away from this standpoint by Zwingli!

The latter now took occasion to say: "Of old has God made known his will to the human race. Thus speaks the revelation of his Word. In and of itself it is light and clear, but for many years, and still more in our times, it has become so dimmed and obscured by the additions and doctrines of men, that the greater part of those, who now call themselves Christians, know less of nothing than of the Divine will, and are only occupied with a worship of their own devising and a fancied holiness resting on outward works. Into such delusion have they been misled by those, who ought to be their leaders, whilst the truth lies in the Word of Christ, as we learn it from his Gospel and the writings of the Apostles. And since some rise up to proclaim this once more, they are not regarded as Christians, but as corrupters of the Church; yea, reviled as heretics, of which I also am counted one. And, although I know, that, for five years now, I have preached in this city nothing else than the glad message of Christ, this has not yet been able to justify me, as is well known to my Lords of Zurich. Therefore have they, and thanks to them for it! instituted for me a public disputation. I have drawn up a summary in writing, which contains all I have hitherto taught. That it is in conformity with the Gospel, I hope, moreover, in presence of our gracious Lords, to prove to the Bishop of Constance or his deputies. The Spirit of God has prompted me to speak; He also knows why he has

chosen one so unworthy. Well then; in His name: Here am I."

Still the vicar general, Faber, did not give up the hope of winning over a part of the Council at least, by friendly words, warnings, and promises, and warding off the decisive blow. "My esteemed brother, Master Ulric Zwingli"—he began—"assures us that he has always preached the Gospel in Zurich. Indeed I do not doubt it; for what preacher, called of God, ought not so to do? He wishes also to justify himself before the Bishop, in regard to his doctrines. The fact is, I desired him to visit Constance. I would have received him into my own house, shewn him all friendship, and treated him like a brother. But hither I have not come, to discuss evangelical or apostolical doctrines, but to listen, to decide in case of strife, and in general, to aid in guiding everything toward peace and unity, not rebellion; for this is the will of Paul as well as the Gospel. But if we are to touch praiseworthy usages and customs of long standing, then I declare, as ambassador of my Lord of Constance, that I have a command not to appear. Such things, in my judgment, belong only to a universal council of the nations, the bishops, and the theologians; for, what another place will refuse to receive, cannot be decided here, and hence divisions would spring up in the Church. It, therefore, is my honest advice, to postpone, for a while yet, disputations concerning the Papal or Ecclesiastical Constitutions, now so many centuries old; especially since my Lord, the Bishop, is informed, that the Estates of the Empire have determined to hold, within the space of twelve months, a general council at Nuremberg. For, in the end, who would be the judge in such a disputation? At the Universities of Paris, Cologne or Louvain* only, could the necessary learning be found."

* All three were then known for their decided adherence to the old church-order.

“And why not”—Zwingli asked in derision—“at Erfurt, or Wittenberg?”* Good brethren, the Lord Vicar makes use of much art, to divert you from your purpose by his rhetorical flourishes. We inquire not how long a thing may have been in use? We would speak of the truth as it presents itself in the Divine Law. To this, mere usage ought to give way. We are told of a Christian assembly, though I hope there is one such here in this chamber. Where two or three are gathered together in my name, said our Lord, I am in the midst of them. There are also *bishops* enough here among us; for the overseers and teachers of congregations have been so styled by the Apostles, not powerful princes, ruling far and wide, as we have them now-a-days. And wherefore should we need judges, when we have the Holy Scripture itself here in the Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages, and scholars, who understand these languages as well as any at those universities? But even were this not the case, there are at least so many Christian spirits amongst us, that with the help of God it should become plain to us, which party interprets the Scripture truly, and which falsely. And lastly, touching the Nuremberg business, I may tell you, dear Lords, that I can produce, if necessary, three letters, received from there very lately, but they contain not one word about a decree actually published. Pope, bishops, prelates would indeed, for the most part, be adverse to any meeting of the kind. And you of Zurich ought to esteem it a great favor and a call of God, that such a thing has happened among you.”

A long pause ensued, till the burgomaster rose up, and once more exhorted the opponents to come forth. No body stirred. “For the sake of Christian charity”—said Zwingli—“I beg every one, who thinks my doctrine erroneous, to speak out his thoughts. I know there are several here, who have accused me

* In Erfurt Luther had studied. At Wittenberg he taught.

of heresy; I may be compelled to call them out by name." No one ventured to confront the powerful champion, whose thorough knowledge they feared, whose attack on the episcopal ambassador they had just witnessed, and whose unsparing mode of combat they knew.

"Where now"—cried a voice from the door—"are the boasters behind the wine-bottle and on the streets? Here is the man for you." It was Gutschenkel of Bern, one of those knaves, who, because fools by profession, escape the censure which their unbecoming speeches deserve. Already it seemed, that with the laughter of Zwingli's friends, and the inglorious flight of his opponents, the whole thing would come to an end, when Jacob Wagner, pastor of Neftenbach, by a question cunningly thrown out, in regard to the offence of the pastor of Fislispach imprisoned at Constance, induced the Vicar General to say something about this man. With an assumed air of pity Faber spoke of his ignorance, and how he himself, by explaining passages of Scripture, had brought him to acknowledge his former errors. But these very same errors Zwingli had also taught, and immediately he challenged Faber to quote the victorious passages. "Good reason"—replied the Vicar General—"had the wise man in the Old Testament, when he said: 'The fool is easily taken in his speech.' I had firmly declared I would not dispute." This beginning, certainly unexpected by the majority of the audience, was followed by a prolix homily on the origin of heresies; the battles of the Pope and Christendom against them; words of Roman historians on the value of unity; the rareness of the gift of interpreting languages, of which he himself could not boast; in short, every thing but that which was demanded. Yet even here Zwingli never suffered him to wait for an answer, but just as often as the Vicar, with unwearied volubility renewed his digressions, he brought him back to the passages demanded. Doctor Se-

bastian Hofmeister also began to press Faber, and Leo Judæ likewise. The latter, for a short time back people's priest at St. Peter's, was again united with his friend Zwingli in Zurich. Sorely perplexed, the Vicar cried out: "A Hercules could not stand against two;" but the simple method of defeating them all, by a quotation of the passages, was still far from his thoughts. Then rose up his companion, Doctor Martin Blausch, to secure for him a retreat, if possible; but he also only dwelt on generalities, the doctrines of the church-fathers, and the right of decision by the church. "The good Lord fails to speak; the good Lord has not rightly looked at the words," and similar gibes fell from Zwingli's lips—proofs rather of confidence in the truth of his cause and contempt of his opponents, than of the clemency, which lends to victory a higher worth. After the silencing of the embassy of Constance, the burgomaster called once more for other combatants, but in vain. Zwingli had the last word. The crowd dispersed at noon.

The interval was used by the Council for drawing up its decision, which was published to the meeting, again called together in the afternoon, and ran thus: "All ye, who, answering our summons for the purposes assigned, have appeared before us to-day, we give to understand. A year is now gone, since an embassy of our gracious Lord of Constance was here at our council-house, before the burgomaster and the Small and Great Councils, on business of a similar kind. Then the request was preferred by us to our gracious Lord, to call together in his diocese learned men and preachers for the examination of the prevailing doctrines; so that a unanimous resolution might be passed, by which every one might be guided. But since, up to this time, perhaps for obvious reasons, nothing special has been done by him in the matter, and the dissension among the clergy and laity continually increases, the burgomaster, Council and the Great Council of the city of Zurich, have again taken the case

in hand; and since now, after the offer of Master Ulric Zwingli to render an account, no one has risen up, no one has dared to refute by the Sacred Scriptures the articles he has furnished, although he has repeatedly called on those who revile him as a heretic—we, after mature counsel, have decided, and it is our earnest opinion, that Master Ulric Zwingli shall go on and continue, as heretofore, to proclaim the Holy Gospel and the real Sacred Scripture, according to the Spirit of God and his ability. Also, all the other priests of the people, pastors and preachers, in our city, canton and dependencies, shall not do otherwise, nor preach, except what they may be able to prove by the Holy Scripture. Likewise, they shall not henceforth call each other hard names, nor use other words of reproach. For they who act personally in this, we will deal with in such a manner, that they shall see and find that they have done wrong."

"God be praised!"—said Zwingli—"He will have his Word rule in heaven and on earth, and to you, my Lords of Zurich, he will doubtless grant strength and power to establish his truth in your canton."

Once more the Vicar General essayed to speak. Now, for the first time, it became possible for him to read the articles of Zwingli, and of course he had to find several that were not sustained by the Holy Scriptures. "Well then—prove it, Sir Vicar General," said Zwingli. It can be seen in works on church-history, how Faber, with no little adroitness and a blinding flow of words, endeavored to point out a contradiction between several of the syllogisms and some points of Holy Scripture. Perhaps, too, this would have succeeded before hearers less instructed; but with the greatest ease his superior antagonist shewed to the assembly, where in one place he tore words from their connection, in another distorted the plain sense, sought to give the later expressions of the Fathers a scriptural sound, and even employed the arts of a lawyer, in

which he himself was evidently conscious of deceit. "You knew"—said Zwingli—"Sir Vicar General, that we, formerly, at the university, practised in common such dazzling tricks of logic, and that I am skilled in them as well as you; but it truly grieves me, that you as a serious man come still armed with such sophistries."

Anger began to appear in the assembly. The speeches of the opposing parties became shorter and more bitter. In order to keep them from degenerating into abuse, the Councils rose. The assembly dissolved, and the burgomaster Roist took leave of the by-standers with a smile, saying: "The sword, with which the pastor of Fislispach was stabbed, would not come out of its sheath to-day."

Faber by his behavior had fallen low in the estimation of the Zurichers. The monks alone, whose courage again revived, since the close of the battle, tried among those with whom they associated, to point out the circumstance, that the Vicar General had kept the last word, as a sign of victory. He himself also boasted of it in Constance after his return, and wherever Zwingli's rough manner or vehement language afforded an opportunity for censure, it was heaped up and spread on all sides. "In short"—writes Salat of Luzern, clerk of the court—"Zwingli pours down far too many scornful words on the head of the Lord Vicar, that excellent man of honor. Now he calls him Sir Hans, Sir John, Sir Vicary, plucks the vicar-bonnet off, and this times without number, and without shame. This was his mode of disputing."

Calmly and with a manifest endeavor, as far as it lay in his power, to form an unbiassed judgment, an old schoolmaster, Erhard Hegenwald, has described the transaction; and his narrative is the more worthy of credence, for the very reason that Faber was so provoked by it, that he attempted to refute it by a statement of his own. The distinguished air, which he

assumed, the haughty treatment of Hegenwald, the importance, which he strove to give to his trifling mistakes, the mixture also of unfounded assertions contained in this production roused the indignation of the young men of Zurich, six of whom, members then already for the most part of the Great, and afterwards of the Small Council, joined in the publication of an answer to Faber, which they entitled "Hawk Plucking." The rude castigation, the biting and often also tasteless wit, and the entire absence of all the respect, which they formerly paid to age and official position, sorely wounded the Vicar General, who, but that it seemed useless, would have complained of the "libelous little book" to the government of Zurich.

Thus the hostility of Faber toward Zwingli and his friends soon extended itself to Zurich also. This champion against the doctrines of the Reformer became a persecutor of all his adherents—an inexorable judge to those, who fell into his power. In the end he even laughed at the tears, which the torture of the rack wrung from one of his victims, and rejoiced to see him burning at the stake.*

Zwingli, although satisfied with the decree of the govern-

* A writer of that age says of him, using indeed colors somewhat dark: "We ought rather to call Faber a cruel judge than a doctor or bishop. Throughout all Germany and the neighboring countries his severity is known. Scarcely a hangman in our fatherland has executed so many as have been condemned by the unrighteous sentences of Faber." And at the close, in a simple narrative of Hans Huglin of Lindau, who was burnt as a heretic, we read: "While the poor miserable man was compelled to groan thus (he had been on the rack), the Vicary sat there and laughed. When the poor man saw this, he said: O, dear Sir, why do you laugh at me; I am but an abandoned creature, who am not worth laughing at. Laugh over yourself, and God forgive you; you know not what you do. At which words the Vicary, who looked at him still more wickedly, was ashamed to laugh and grew very red; since which all the world has pitied the poor man."

ment, that he should continue unmolested in his way of teaching, was by no means so with the turn, which the conference took in the afternoon, through the tricks of Faber and the sort of protest against his syllogisms as anti-scriptural, with which the Vicar General had left Zurich. He resolved to append to each one of these points a detailed explanation and proof, in a work, which is even now considered the basis of his system of Christian doctrine, as well as his views in regard to church and state.* "Day and night"—he wrote to his friend Werner Steiner—"do I labor at this work." It consisted of a volume of 300 closely-printed pages, and was finished in five months, amid daily preaching and a crowd of other business. New and still more violent enemies were awakened by its appearance, and, although many boasting promises of a refutation were made, none ever saw the light.

But with the rapid spread of this work the time had come, when the influence of the Reformer, hitherto confined mostly to Zurich and its territory, flowed out in all directions beyond these limits. The Zurich ambassadors had to witness a prelude of this in a riot at Luzern, where a disorderly rabble, instigated by several deputies of the diet sitting at that place, carried past their lodging an effigy of Zwingli with scoffs and curses, and burnt it with all the formalities used by the Inquisition. Two months later, in June, Caspar Gœldi, who had been obliged to leave Zurich on account of mercenary service, complained before a second diet at Baden, that his daughter had willfully eloped from the convent of Hermatschweil and married one Schuster at Bremgarten, and the *landvogt* of Sorgans likewise, that a priest of that place had taken to himself a wife. Zwingli's sermons became still more severe against deserters

* Printed entire under the title of "*Uslegen und Grund der Schlussreden*," in the first volume of Zwingli's works, edited by Schuler and Schultheiss.

and pensions. "Confederates,"—said Caspar of Muelinen—"check Lutheranism in the bud. The preachers at Zurich have already become masters of their rulers, so that they are no more able to withstand them. A man is no longer safe there in his own house. The peasantry refuse to pay their rents and tithes, and great discord reigns in the city and canton." The resolution was carried in the Recess, to communicate the complaints to all the governments, in order to agree if possible on a remedy; especially since the pastor had meddled also in political affairs, and preached among other things: "The Confederates sell Christian blood and eat Christian flesh."

At Zwingli's request, the articles of the Recess were given to him, so that he might draw up a vindication. This vindication, which was also laid before the Great Council at Zurich, shows the undaunted courage of the man, as well as his assurance of being in the path of duty.

"Wise and gracious Lords,"—wrote he—"I believe indeed that complaints against me are rife; but to show the justice of them is, as I hope in God, in the power of no one. I will indeed confess, that I earnestly rebuke the prevailing vices, in chief that of perfidious bribe-taking, which is in vogue in nearly all courts and countries. But of my Lords, the Confederates, I have never spoken improperly. I have named them perhaps, though not rudely; for, from youth up, nothing has been more foreign to my nature, except when my fatherland has been evil spoken of. When obliged to rebuke severely and bear down against vices, then I have mentioned neither Dalmatians nor Englishmen; and this is my constant custom. Moreover, by no means do I agree with them, who say, no body ought ever to be called by name from the pulpit. God has never commanded this; perhaps the Pope has; but none the less am I of opinion, that we should not make the Word of God hateful by our rashness. When, during Lent in the past year, I preached about

eating flesh, I uttered these, among other words: Many a one reviles flesh-eating as evil and thinks that a great sin, which God has never forbidden; but to butcher and sell human flesh, he thinks no sin. But in this I called neither Confederates, nor *landsknechts*, by name. That I said nothing more, the Great Council of Zurich will bear me witness. In general, for some time back I have had to endure incredible lies against me; they have caused me little sorrow, for I thought: The disciple is not above his master; they lied against Christ, hence it is no wonder, they lie against thee also. Thus my enemies once said of me, that I abused the mother of God our Lord, Jesus Christ. I answered them with a suitable little book. Again they say, I have declared that neither rents nor tithes should be paid. Item, that I have no regard for Christ's holy body, and have preached an opinion about it so scandalous, that I will not repeat it, lest the hearts of pious Christians might be shocked. And much other stuff of the like sort, they swear I have preached; but all these, saving your Honors' presence, are pure lies. Then they tell of me that I have had four children this year; that I wander about the streets at night; that I am a gambler; that I am hired by pensions from princes and lords; yet these also, saving your Honors' presence, are pure lies. Now I would not again set right these points, touching my morals, if they were not prejudicial to the good city of Zurich; for, since it would be a great disgrace to so glorious a city, if it suffered such vices even in a boy, I need not speak of one, who is devoted to God's Word and the common salvation of men. As to this, wise and gracious Lords, let it be far from you to put faith in any one, who speaks what he pleases against others or myself; for the times are perilous. The devil, who is an enemy of the truth, has used all his arts to cast down and destroy it. Therefore it is my humble prayer to Your Worships, that, as heretofore, if they have somewhat to say to me,

or any one somewhat against me, he or they seek me before my Lords at Zurich, where I am a citizen and a canon; besides a born Toggenburger and a countryman at Schwyz and Glarus. But, as far as regards the doctrine of Christ, I ask no other protection from any one, than may serve to prevent interference against the pure word of God; and each and every one shall see, if God will, that since I laid hold of the Gospel of Christ, I have never taught anything, whose ground I did not search into beforehand, as far as God permitted. Understand this my plain, hasty letter in the best sense; for it is written without deceitful cunning. Let it also be made public, so that each and every one can see my innocence. And may Almighty God keep your State in his grace and honor! Amen."

There is nothing in the records of the Recesses to show, whether this vindication was really read before the Diet. It is certain, however, that it was known to the individual members, among whom, as well as among the States, opinions concerning Zwingli already began to be divided, and his adherents were treated with far more mildness in Bern, Solothurn, Basel and Schaffhausen, than in Luzern, Freiburg and the three Forest Cantons. In Glarus several of the most influential members of the government continued to keep up a correspondence with him, or a friendly feeling toward him; indeed, the government of Bern, as early as June, 1523, issued a decree, that that only, which could be proved by the Holy Scripture, should be taught in the pulpit; and, at the close of the same year, the nuns of Koenigsfeld received permission to leave the convent, if they desired it.

In this respect, the Council of Zurich had already taken the lead in the month of June, by doing the same thing for the Sisters at Oedenbach. The wealth of this convent was considerable; the nuns, whose number was rather large, belonged, for the most part, to distinguished families. It was no easy un-

dertaking, in a time of such excitement, to keep peace among them, especially because the fiercest enemies of reform, the Dominican monks, who were devoted to the same rule of order, had abundant access to them as preachers, as confessors, and under all possible pretences. The Council, sorry to find this influence, and tracing it in the quarrels, which already began to arise in many families, through the instigation of the spiritual sisters, invited Zwingli to preach in the convent. This had never yet been done by a so-called secular priest. A part of the nuns refused to hear the unwelcome speaker. Zwingli therefore printed the discourse, which he delivered, and sent it to them. Requests were now sent to the government by one for release from her vows; prayers by another for the return of their former confessors and preachers. Strife arose in the convent. Here parents saw with displeasure the resolution of their daughters to go back into secular life, whilst others were dissatisfied, because theirs refused to do this. For some time the Council tried to help matters by rendering access to the convent difficult, and by obliging Leo Judæ to preach there regularly; but when the discord was not allayed thereby, permission to leave was granted to all those who desired to go, with the privilege of taking whatever they had brought, besides their clothing and furniture. The rest were allowed to remain in the convent, but were obliged to lay aside the habit of the order and listen to Leo Judæ's preaching. For the management of the revenues and general control a court of magistrates was instituted. The number of those, who went back to secular life, still increased; the aged gradually died off in the convent. Similar ordinances were passed in relation to the other nunneries in the territory of Zurich.

It is enough to show, that in these arrangements, the government was prompted neither by a blind zeal for tearing down, nor a base desire for the property of the convents. He who

looks over the writings of Zwingli,* will soon find, that the Council followed closely the path marked out by him, and indeed throughout, in the consciousness that they acted in full harmony with the Holy Scriptures. As another proof of the bold thinking and fearless language of the Reformer, we will here quote, if it be only what he says, in the Explanation of his Final Discourses as to the right disposition of the property of the suppressed establishments: "The simple-minded shudder at this, because they think it not right to change the last will of any body; but a greater fraud lies in this than in other abuses. See: What motive swayed those, who founded the benefices? Nothing else than because they were falsely taught, that the mass is a sacrifice. Therefore they dreamed they were bestowing their possessions on the poor, when they gave to this object. But now, since we are conscious of the deceit, that the mass is not a sacrifice, but the food of him, who eats with faith and spiritual hunger, we may divert the property to the poor, and withdraw it from idle bellies; yet we do this after their departure. But here they cry out; See, thus they undertake to do away with testaments, legacies and last wills! Answer: Here lies the rogue behind the hedge. Has not every government its own right and custom in the making of legacies? Who meddles with the appointment of heirs? Who wishes to act falsely here? You have falsified more than any one else; for you have tampered with last wills, so that that has been given to you, which belonged to other lawful heirs, and you have done it by your parables and false doctrines.† Thus what the people

* Explanation of the Final Discourses, viz, the 26, 27, 33, 64th, et cet.

† He, who is acquainted with history in its sources, knows that this assertion of Zwingli is by no means maliciously snatched from the air. It cannot indeed be charged against all convent-property; but, to illustrate the mode, in which a part at least of such acquisitions were obtained during the Middle Ages, I will insert here a document,

have as a civil right, you claim as a divine right. * * *
 See, here we find the real forgers of wills, who have foisted in their avarice, by pretending that it was kindly done for the salva-

— which was preserved in their archives by our forefathers of Zurich, *expressly for the information of posterity*, and which, drawn up on parchment and furnished with the seal of State, is still extant. The monasteries had plainly fallen off from their original severe rules. For the better understanding of it, the orthography and punctuation only are brought nearer to modern style.

“To all, who see this letter or hear it read, we, the Council of Zurich, whose names are written after, make known, that we saw the letter of the burghers of Strassburg, entire, true, and sealed with their public seal, as stands hereafter written. And that we and our successors after us, if a similar case arise in our midst, may be able to judge the more correctly, we have, with the leave of our burghers, willingly, publicly and unanimously written this letter from the heart, and publicly sealed it with our burghers’ great seal, *for a perpetual and eternal record.*”

“To the honorable, the wise and the discreet, the Council and burghers generally of Basel, of Colmar, of Schlettstadt, of Rheinau, of Naffach, and after them, all those cities where this letter appears, Nicholas the younger Zorn, mayor of the city, and the burghers of Strassburg generally offer their free service with entire friendship. Many things are done honorably and justly, which in foreign countries are perverted, because their origin is not rightly understood. Hence we humbly pray you to receive our address with favor and sympathize with us, because they have troubled us, for whom we have done very much indeed. Your Worships, the barefooted friars and the preachers (Dominican monks) had fallen into the practice of taking legacies in the world outside of the monasteries, and when a rich man, or a rich lady, lay on a death-bed, then they ran thither and persuaded him to give all his property to them, and thus all his heirs were disinherited and ruined. Then the latter came before us crying and complaining that they had been disinherited. Many such complaints came before us. The monks sold also their own property, on condition that it should revert to them again on the death of the buyer. *This made us think that our city would in a short time become entirely theirs.* They received also into their order the chil-

tion of souls. But they say, if one of his own free-will gives us his property on his death-bed, is it not right for us to take it? Answer: no, for thou shouldst have before given a right Christian understanding to the donor, representing things thus:

dren of rich people, without the consent and knowledge of their friends, in order to get their property. At this also we have been greatly troubled and many complaints against them have been brought before us. When this had continued for a long, long time, and we could bear no longer the manifold complaints of the burghers; then we went to the preachers and begged them to conduct themselves so, that such complaints would no more reach us from our citizens. Then they spake and promised us that what papers the barefooted friars (Franciscans) would give us, not to do it any more, they also would give us. We went to the barefooted friars and laid this matter before them. They answered thus: What Your Worships require us to promise you, that we are directed by the rules of our order not to do; even if you had never issued a command, yet had we been forbidden not to do it. Then spake we: Make us such a paper on it as seems good to you, that it may stand as a pledge between us. They drew up the paper as we send you the copy word for word. Then we came to the preachers (Dominicans) with the paper and they bade us give them a copy. After that their provincial came, and they did as he told them, and abused us for this thing beyond measure, four years in succession. But at last, a complaint was lodged against them for taking the estate of a lady from the lawful heirs; therefore we begged them again to give us a paper like that of the barefooted friars, as they had promised to do. Then they said proudly, that rather than do it they would let their heads be chopped off with axes. This made us unwilling to have them as clergymen, since they would not keep their promises. And when we began to build on the commons of our city before their gates, they ran to our women and beat our servants with clubs and shovels till one was killed. At which we became the more wroth and would have torn their gate from its hinges. This have we written to you and pray, since we need your counsel and favor in this matter, that you will act a friendly part, because we lean on you and would do the same for you in an hour of like need. We also pray you, if we get judges in this affair, who are allied to you, that you will influence them toward us, so that they will

Consider not thy temporal property thine own; thou art only a steward over it. Thou shouldst divide it among the poor, which is pleasing to God, and shouldst not give it to those, who do not need it. Thou seest that such property is often used, only to foster pride and vanity in the temples, even though it is not squandered wantonly. God has commanded, to give to the poor; do it then; and no one shall be scandalized, if that which has hitherto been misused, is turned to the Christian advantage of the poor. For were they, who unknowingly have contributed to their bellies, still here, they would snatch it again out of their hands. But no appropriating hand should be laid on it; for that would be acting the thief, or the robber. The authorities should wait till the jointures are without a possessor (till the present incumbents are dead, or have voluntarily relinquished their rights), and then arrange it with God himself; so that common justice be maintained and no one led into wickedness."

Why should a people, accustomed to form free judgments on human affairs, as well as to express their opinions freely concerning them, oppose with violence such views, founded as they were by Zwingli, at all points, on the Holy Scriptures? Did not experience also teach that the Church of Christ has become great in poverty, and straightway been corrupted by riches? Willingly or unwillingly, the government had to yield to public
 —
 be favorable to our rights, just as we would do for you in the same strait."

The names of the Council (at Zurich, as above) are Burkard von Hottingen, Rudolph von Beggenhoven, Chuon von Tuebelstein, Henry Vinko and Jacob from the Mezie, knights, Ruodolf der Muelner, Ruodolf der Kriek, Ulric der Trueber, Peter Wolfeibscho, Ulric im Gewelbe, Henry Stoeri and John Pilgrin Burger. This paper was transcribed in the twelve-hundred and eighty-seventh year, from God's birth on the Monday after Saint Urban's day, when the indiction was the XVth.

opinion, and awoken to a still more lively consciousness, that, if it would not continually oscillate, without character, between the old and the new, no escape remained, except in the way which the welfare and honor of the country pointed out; by making common cause with the bold and progressive Reformer.

From this feeling, it no longer threw any obstacles in the way of the public marriage of the clergy in the churches, even that of Leo Judæ, people's priest at St. Peter's. William Rœubli, then preacher at Wytikon, anxious to set a striking example, had made a beginning, by wedding the daughter of a wealthy countryman, amid a concourse of joyful guests, on the 28th of April, 1523.

A letter came from the Emperor, accompanied by a decree of the Bishop, in which the prohibition of such marriages, the punishment of those who broke their monastic vows, as well as a severer watchfulness against innovating teachers, were strongly enjoined; but it was all in vain. The Council decided, against the wish of the Bishop, that this "mandate" should neither be complied with, nor even acknowledged, and wrote to him; "in the city of Zurich, its courts and its territories, the Gospel and the Divine Word shall be truly proclaimed, but if any one thinks that heretical matters and articles are preached, let him point them out, whereupon fitting action will be taken in the case."

Just in proportion as Zwingli's position became more secure, his views were transferred to the system of government, and the Reformation taking hold thus of political life, new embarrassments were prepared for him by the very men, who originally supported him, and the first traces of dangerous movements from below upward began already to appear.

The time was ripe for his great work. Boldness only was needed, to give the first utterance to that of which the majority were more or less conscious: The deceit, the abuses that have poisoned our civil as well as our religious life must be put down.

In such moments, the feeling of deliverance was awakened in every heart: nobler powers, intellectual activities were stirred up; but mingled at the same time with hereditary weakness, seductive vices and passions, whose charms he, who is born of earth, can not wholly resist; and the brave man, who called the movement into life, had soon to contend less with old enemies, already half conquered, than with the new ones rising up on all sides.

This was the prospect which unfolded itself to the Reformer, as early as the year 1523, soon after the first Religious Conference. William Rœubli, the above-mentioned preacher at Wytikon, Simon Stumpf, pastor at Høeng, and even Zwingli's former scholar, friend and admirer, Conrad Grebel, are known as the first by whom the congregations were disturbed and seduced into dangerous measures. Among several points, based on the Gospel as they pretended, none was more readily seized on by the people than these—that the tithe, according to the Divine Word, should go exclusively to the benefit of the poor, and that the taking of interest for money loaned was forbidden. In fact, deputies from several congregations in the neighborhood of the city appeared before the Council, on June 22d, with the petition, that, since the tithe was eleemosynary under the Gospel, and theirs was uselessly squandered by the canons of the Great Minster, they might be released from the burden. They were plainly rebuked by the Council in a sealed letter. It was not right in the government to support error. But the flame was not in the least smothered by this act; the bait was too tempting—to free themselves, under the shield of religion, from a tax, which often before had been resisted. Rude sermons, for and against the justice of the thing, were multiplied. A book, called "Chief Articles of Christian doctrine against unchristian Usury," written by a Doctor Strauss, and another, entitled "Balaam's Little Ass," were circulated. It was also asserted

that Zwingli rejected tithes and interest. Grebel even ventured to write to his brother-in-law, Vadianus, in St. Gall: "You wish for news about the tithe-business. I can say nothing in accordance with sincerity and the Gospel, if I do not say, that the people in our world of Zurich defraud in this matter like tyrants and Turks. 'People of this world' I style the tyrants of our fatherland, who go by the name of 'the assembled fathers.' Decimating fathers they ought to be called. Thou art not perhaps willing to believe me, and yet I see it with my own eyes. *Only ask Zwingli, who can tell thee everything better than I can.*"

Such assertions as this, which were echoing already through the whole Confederacy, the prayers of his friends and the wishes of the government induced Zwingli to declare himself publicly on the subject. This was done in a sermon, which was given to the press under the title: "On Divine and Human Righteousness."

In earlier moments of enthusiasm over the rich fruits of his struggle, from a feeling of the wide difference between evangelical freedom and the pressure of the numerous burdens imposed by a degenerate church, a word may have escaped him, which, joyfully laid hold of, distorted and magnified, gave some color to the reproach, that he wished also to attack civil order and guaranteed rights. This sermon, prepared with mature deliberation and assured confidence, shows how safe his standpoint here was, and that his system did not rest on fragments of knowledge, dark feelings and a mere negative spirit of contradiction, but was based on a profound understanding of the Holy Scriptures, in their entire connection.

In seeking to bring the sense of human justice into harmony with the fulfillment of religious duty, the lower position was assigned to the citizen, in his relations to the state, where, in order to escape just punishment, he is obliged to obey; and the

higher to the Christian, in the spiritual kingdom of his Lord and Master, where he is bound to aspire after the noblest things, in a spirit of faith, love and freedom. This will be plain from several passages, taken out of this sermon.

“There are two laws, as well as two kinds of righteousness; a human and a divine. One part of the law regards the inner man alone, for we must love God and our neighbor. But no one can fulfill this command; hence no one is righteous, because God only and He by grace, the pledge of which is Christ, can make us righteous through faith. The other part of the law regards the external man alone, and hence we may be outwardly pious and righteous, and still none the less wicked within. For example: “Thou shalt not steal,” is a command for external life and piety. “Thou shalt not covet the property of thy neighbor,” is a command for inward, divine life and righteousness; yet both have respect to one thing, *taking*. So, if one only does not steal, he is pious in the eyes of men, but may at the same time be unjust before God; for he has a stronger desire and temptation perhaps to seize foreign property, than one who has stolen. He, who does not practise usury, is pious before men; for he may be restrained by force from doing it; but nevertheless he is not pious before God; for he must sell all his goods and give to the poor. Indeed, the rich man is bound to give to the poor, that is, to God. But, though no man can ever fully attain this divine righteousness, yet believers have special delight in conforming to it more and more, and the desire is greater in one than in another, according as God has kindled his fire in our hearts; for He works all things in us. Therefore, the divine righteousness ought to be made known and preached to all men without ceasing, else godliness will vanish, and all men content themselves with lame, human righteousness, and all righteousness be turned into an allegory; for then no one would respect God, but look out

only as to how he might be shielded from punishment before men, as for some time back we have grieved to see happen in many cases. *

"We have now seen, as I hope, how widely the divine righteousness differs from what is merely human. Although this human righteousness is not worthy to be called a righteousness, yet we examine it in comparison with that which is divine; yet has God also commanded it, because he has seen in our fallen estate, that our temptations and desires could not follow or do his will. Christ tells us to be obedient to this human righteousness; for he says: Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. He does not mean to say that the whole world should obey Cæsar, but only that portion of mankind, which was subject to him. Had he found the Jewish nation under the king of Babylon, he would have spoken: Render unto the king of Babylon what is due to the king of Babylon. We must understand this of every several government. If you live under the king of France, then render to him what is due to him; and so on, through the whole catalogue."

After this strict separation of the kingdom of God, revealing itself only in freedom and love; and national life, founded on law, order and obedience, he refers interest and tithes to the province of severe human righteousness. Beyond dispute, it would aid the government in disposing of this matter; but just as resolutely did he warn against misuse in the application, against the encouragement of usury, and against the sanction of unfair contracts by sign and seal; for though written guarantees must be kept inviolate according to human order, yet durst you as little forget that the law of kindness and Christian love

* Or in other words: Without religion the state succumbs to materialism. But the prevalence of materialism is least consistent with the welfare of a republic. The freest state *ought* to be the most religious: the most religious only *durst* be the most free.

toward men is written by God himself in the soul. If wantonly violated, they are waked up in the end, and help themselves, in spite of records and parchments. Then you have the decree and your own folly to thank for it. "This brief opinion"—he adds—"I am ready to maintain by the Holy Scripture."

"In short"—he concludes—"the Divine Word ought to rule over all men, be set before them and truly made known; for we are bound to follow it. But in this, the grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ alone can aid our weakness. For the more we discover our guilt, the more we discover the beauty and the almightiness of God, and the love and assurance of his grace, which makes us more pious than we can be in any other way. Besides, though some will be found, who do not release the ungodly and unbelievers from the duty of living according to God's Word, yet God has given us also as the lowest command, not that, living only therein, we may be pious, but that human society may be upheld and protected, and guardians appointed, who may earnestly look to it, that the last vestige of human righteousness also be not swept away. Such guardians are the powers that be, who are no other than they that bear the sword, whom we call worldly authorities. These authorities must not indeed trample on the Word of God; for they punish outward transgressions only, but cannot make righteous or unrighteous inwardly; for that God alone does in the hearts of men."

The weight of such language, uttered from the pulpit and spread abroad by the press, bore heavily on those, who derived advantage from the burdens, which prevailing abuses heaped upon the people. And the canons of the Great Minster were especially concerned in this. Indeed, some were found among them, who not only led a life of idleness, but of debauchery and wanton dissipation, and instead of attending to divine worship, went out hunting with falcons, leaping over the hedges of the

farmers, or dared even to hold carousals in the sacristy itself.* It is true, that, since Zwingli's arrival, they had been obliged to change, in so far as scarcely ever to venture on such things in public, and, that the number of those, who clearly perceived the need of a remedy, was increasing; and at last they induced Zwingli, as he had given advice, before it would be too late, to stretch out a powerful hand for their reformation.

The result was, a resolution of the monastery to bring the matter to the notice of the government. The latter met them with joy; and by a commission from both parties, a revised order was prepared, in conformity with the progress of religious knowledge and theological science, as it certainly agreed also with the original spirit of the foundation, and that of its most distinguished patron, Charlemagne.

In the introduction of a document relating to this subject, drawn up on the 29th of September, 1523, it runs thus: "The reverend Clergy, Provost and Chapter of the Monastery of St. Felix and Regula make known; since, from a good motive, encouraged thereto by the Divine Word, which lays open everything, they see and acknowledge the abuses, of which they are not the authors, having received them by tradition—with the help of God they will exchange them for the better rules of a good Christian life, and cause them to be practised in another and better fashion than heretofore. Besides, they find that the common people, rich and poor, who support them by their toilsome labor, be it by interest or tithes, have had indeed no pleasure in their prevailing customs and misusages, but felt

* The assailed could indeed appeal, at least for a partial justification of their love of the chase, to an article of their statutes, revised in the year 1346, according to which and others, a horse, a hound, and a falcon or sparrow-hawk, for hunting, had to be presented to the chaplain of the foundation, who ministered at the annual festival in the church of Zollikon.

great discontent at the manifold burdens laid upon them." The improvement consisted in the remission of a considerable sum of dues, which were hitherto drawn for ecclesiastical purposes; in the establishment of professorships for the better education of the clergy; in the greater demands made on those, who wished to come forth as preachers; and in the anxiety manifested for suitable religious instruction among congregations under the care of the Canonical Chapter. Among the present canons and chaplains, whose number, exclusive of the people's priest and his assistants, amounted to 60, whoever was fitted for such purposes, him they would commission, but suffered the others, under pledge, of course, to lead a retired life and attend preaching regularly, to retain their benefices till death, when their revenues were to be transferred to the hospital and the poor of that congregation, which paid the tithe to the Chapter.

But affairs had already come to such a pass, that even well-meant and judicious changes, if not immediately carried out, no longer gave satisfaction. A wild zeal for innovation also found vent in frequent brutish expressions and disorderly scenes. If unpopular canons or chaplains appeared at mass in the church, they were publicly derided; their chronicles were stolen; leaves were torn from a guide-book for the celebration of festivals put up in the choir, and then scattered at the door of the provost's house; and one night the stocks and gallows, emblems of the temporal jurisdiction of the monastery were partly destroyed and partly erected in a different place. By others the lamps in the Church of the Virgin were broken, and the oil spilled, whilst they mutually sprinkled themselves with the holy water. Similar things happened in St. Peter's Church. In the country, a priest even ventured to read mass in slippers and red breeches. They began to call pictures idols, and the examples of the kings and prophets of the East, who contended against the idolatry of their age in every possible way, were arrayed

as worthy of imitation before the imaginations of fanatics, who grew more excited, especially as they became acquainted with the Old Testament. A production, composed in this spirit by Lewis Hætzler, under the title of "Decree of God, as to how we ought to deal with Images," was at that time widely circulated.

From this disposition of mind proceeded an event, which attracted attention and aroused indignation throughout the Confederacy, and prepared trouble for the government in Zurich. Directly before the city, in Stadelhofen, there stood on a pedestal of stone, an immense image of the Savior on the Cross, carved out of wood. It was put up by one family, as a monument of devotion, and was now under the care of a miller dwelling in the neighborhood. Many passers-by still did reverence to it. This was a source of great provocation to a number of enthusiasts, who afterwards went over to the Anabaptists, and especially to Nicholas Hottinger, a shoemaker by trade, a man not without culture, possessed of some property, versed in the Scriptures and of a decided character, which, in connection with his natural eloquence, gave him great influence over his associates. It is told of him, that he offered a rundlet of wine to the hospital, if he would be allowed to destroy the images and votive paintings in the Water Church; and that he intended to give a banquet in honor of Zwingli at Lindenhof, amid a large assembly of country-people. He had often rebuked the possessor of the crucifix for not casting away the object of idolatry; he had even done it in presence of members of the Council, so that the man at last declared he was tired of the business, and though he would never do such a thing himself, Hottinger had the privilege of doing it, as soon as he had made over to him his right to the image. This was effected, and on a clear day Hottinger came with his companions. They threw down the crucifix, and even dugged out the pedestal. The wood, they declared should go to the poor.

Although the actors in this scene appealed to the express command of God; although many approved of the deed, and even a portion of the preachers spoke in their favor from the pulpit, it was still in the eyes of others, perhaps of the majority, especially beyond the canton, an act as rebellious as horrible, yea worthy of death; and they threatened, in case the perpetrators were not dealt with in this way, according to their will and confused ideas, such dangerous consequences, that the government was obliged to cast the so-called "Idol Stormers" into prison for a while. The result of an investigation, conducted in common with the three people's priests, convinced the Council, that the quieting of the people, and the introduction of rules of law for the abrogation of customs, which were no longer tenable, could only be looked for, in the way of a conference, as public and thorough as possible, on the doctrine of Scripture concerning images and the mass also, as connected with this subject.

Hence the collective clergy and laity of the canton were invited, in case they were ready to throw any light on the subject, to appear at the council-house on the 26th of October. Similar invitations were sent to the bishops of Constance, Chur and Basel, as well as to the university at the latter place, to the twelve cantons of the Confederacy, and to the city and abbot of St. Gall.

The call of Zurich for the first religious conference, nine months before, had scarcely been heeded by her sisters of the Confederacy. But now this actual invitation was received in a different manner. With the exception of Schaffhausen, no canton, it is true, ventured to comply with it formally; but from the answers, yet to be quoted, it may be gathered that, having generally deliberated over the matter, they were decidedly averse to the proposal. Bern, and, by her advice, Solothurn also, declined the invitation, with the prayer, that it might not be taken ill on their part; but as injury as well ben-

effit could grow out of events of this kind, not to a single canton merely, but to the whole Confederacy, the general interest ought to have induced them to confer beforehand in common about the topics to be treated of, as well as about those who were to be invited to the conference. The invitation made a disagreeable impression on Luzern. "You inform us"—so runs the letter from this city—"that quarrels and ill-will about spiritual things are rife among you. This we are sorry to hear, and still more sorry that you have not rooted them up long ago, for which neither right nor might were wanting; and even had it been so, we as pious Christians would have willingly lent you aid. Now you invite us to a conference; but along with our clergy, whom we think pious, we have found in spiritual and temporal affairs, that such insignificant assemblies are wholly unfit to deal with matters pertaining to faith. We do not wish to attack images, far less the mass, upon which our whole faith is founded. We wish to tread in the footsteps of our fathers—to stand by that, which we have inherited from them and been taught by them; for we do not regard them as seducers, but sainted and pious people. We are willing also to have abuses put away; but by them to whom it belongs. Therefore we send no one, and beg you to accept our reasons in the best spirit."

Still more bitter was the refusal of Obwalden: "To serve you we are at all times ready. But now you invite our learned men to you. Hence we speak thus: We have no particularly learned people amongst us; only pious, reverend priests, who expound to us the Gospel and the other Holy Scriptures, as they were expounded to our forefathers; in which we will trust as long as we live, unless the Pope or a Council revoke the doctrine, and are ready to suffer death therefor. We also can not bring ourselves to believe that the Lord God has given more grace to Zwingli, than to the dear saints and teachers, who have suf-

ferred martyrdom and death for the faith. We can not see that he leads such a spiritual life, nay, that he is rather inclined to disturbance, than to peace and quiet. Therefore we desire to send no one to him, nor to any like him. Indeed, if we had him, and would find that true, which is told us about him, we would give him such a reward, that he would never do it again."

Basel, where Zwingli's intimate friend Œcolampadius (Hauschein) was now a preacher, and in the year following became a professor, returned no answer. The University looked with disdain on popular theological conferences, where unlearned men even usurped the seat of judgment, and the Council found itself embarrassed between the friends of the old order and the new. Zurich complained of its silence.

The Bishop of Constance, in two successive letters, asked, according to his former practice, for the reference of such an important point to a Church Council; he would be pledged, so to speak, "for both his superiors (the Emperor and the Pope), from the answers and commands received from them in similar cases." In the same strain wrote the truly venerable and aged Bishop of Basel, with the addition: "although we are otherwise inclined with our whole heart to favor you in all possible things (God knows), because we are not unmindful of the many deeds of kindness shown to ourselves and our monastery." From the Diocesan at Chur no reply was received. The Abbot of St. Gall excused himself on account of the shortness of the time, which did permit him to obtain instructions. From the city on the contrary, appeared, along with Vadianus the friend of Zwingli's youth, who three years after rose to the dignity of burgomaster there, the pastor Benedict Burgauer and Doctor Schapeler. Doctor Sebastian Hofmeister, the people's priest Martin Steinlin and Conrad Irmensee, trustee of the monastery of All Saints, arrived from Schaffhausen.

Of the course, the nature and the results of the theological investigations, during the three days devoted to this conference, enough can be learned from church-history.* Our task is to describe the carriage and behavior of the persons engaged in it. They seem to divide themselves into two main classes of a better stamp, and one of a worse; the most prominent speakers were Zwingli, Conrad Schmied, commander of the Knights of St. John at Kuessnacht, and Conrad Grebel. A reckless treatment, an absolute rejection of all, that could not be proven before the tribunal of Scripture-interpretation conducted by the natural understanding, marked the character of one class; a sparing of the weak, cautious progress and a horror of tearing down anything, before it could be built up again, marked that of the second. Bolder, springing more from the immediate wants of the age, more politic were the views of the first; milder, more accordant with nature, better agreeing with the spirit of Christianity, were those of the second. Still, Zwingli was not lacking in feeling, nor Schmied in understanding. Hence they, and their friends likewise, mutually comprehended each other, and united in their opposition to the third class, in which, under Grebel's guidance, only the impure elements of stormy passions mingled.

Because there were now only two, though very important, points of discussion, this conference was more lively and animated than the one preceding. The decisive action to be taken in regard to images, held in suspense the multitude of those, whose rude devotions were made up of genuflections, faith in miracles, and the observance of external rites, whilst on the other hand, the thoughtful and sensible turned their attention rather to the examinations on the mass, which was without

* Satisfactory explanations of them are given by *Wirz* in his *Swiss Church History*, continued by *Kirchhofer*, Vol. V. p. 139.

doubt the basis of the prevailing worship. This assembly drew together a far greater number than the first, held in the beginning of the year, and in order that digression to irrelevant subjects might not be possible, and that the management might not be attributed to a faction of Zurichers, Vadianus and Schapeler of St. Gall, along with Doctor Hofmeister of Schaffhausen, were chosen as presidents.

Rigidly did they adhere to the rule of order laid down for them by the burgomaster, to suffer no replies to pass which were not sustained by the very language of the Bible, and Hofmeister particularly ordered silence and the disuse of certain expressions, which few in our times would not admit as substantially true, although according to the nature of things they could not be proven by the bare letter of Holy Scripture.

At first, the debate concerning the adoration of images proceeded without much strife. The unscriptural character of the practice was universally acknowledged. Only in appearance, or in order to pave the way for discussion, Gregory Luethy, pastor in Winterthur, raised some objections, but was supported by no one. The word "idolater," which they were so ready to use, carried terror on all sides.

The canon Edlebach, whilst granting all such veneration to be superstitious, was still anxious to preserve at least figurative representations of noble deeds, because "he thought they charm us to imitation."—"This is a use"—answered Zwingli—"which is no use to *me*; bring the Divine Scripture for it. God has forbidden us to be charmed by any one save Him alone and His Word. Besides, when we have them, they will be honored and esteemed as helpers. And that is at all points against Christ and His Word."

The severity of this answer the canon attributed perhaps to the circumstance, that he was known as a secret adversary of the Reformer, when one of his friends and admirers also rose

up, not indeed for the defence of images, but to put in a plea for their merciful treatment and impartial estimation.

This was Commander Schmied. Let us dwell a while upon a character so full of interest. Son of a countryman from the village of Kuessnacht, set apart for study on account of his natural gifts, he came to Basel, where he remained till the ripe age of manhood, and found himself clothed with academical honors. Then he was chosen people's priest at Seengen, and unanimously by the Knights of St. John at Kuessnacht for their commander, in 1519. We know that he here won universal respect, sought to promote religion and science, and in the spirit, which animated the founders of this Order of Knighthood, joined a sincere and active benevolence with courage, honor and morality. Even his external appearance was dignified and engaging.

As the truth of the Gospel was sacred to him, so the spirit of love lived in him, that spirit of the Holy Scriptures, which is eternal, whilst the letter bears the stamp of the age from which it came—the character of the men, by whom it was written; that spirit makes alive, whilst the letter kills.

A shrewd observer, having the confidence of the country-people living under him, he had heard many peculiar expressions about the much-talked-of image-question, and looked as deep into weak as into stronger hearts. Why should the nobler end be done away also with the abuse? How had an elevation to the realm of pure ideas suddenly become possible for thousands, whose feelings heretofore could only be wrought upon through the medium of the senses? Was then the zeal so pure, which glowed in the bosoms of the stormy fanatics, who with axe and hatchet overthrew without discrimination the ornaments of churches and the grotesque creations of superstition,* and before whose gloomy looks the most delicate works

* In St. Gall, for instance, forty wagon-loads of the ruins of wood-

of art, from which the grandeur of innocence and the blessedness of love beamed down upon them, found no mercy?

Hence Schmied said: "Let us first put away the idols in our hearts, through the preaching of the Divine Word, before we begin to rattle on the outside. Pictures are the staves of the weak, which we dare not take away, until we have given them strength to walk without. Paul too did not assail the gods and statues of the Athenians, but strove to erect in their hearts a temple to the invisible God, convinced that then idolatry would fall away of itself. In general, we ought not to provoke anger without necessity; and not everything that happens amongst us springs from a pure love of the truth. Such things work injuriously in the Confederacy. We are told the Confederates should not be our God. But yet they are Christian people, and for that reason we ought to spare them."

Who, in our times, will not approve of this mild speech? And to what do the Protestants of this 19th century owe it, that they can hold these views peacefully? that no faith of the letter drives them to a renunciation of innocent feelings, to unrighteous, repulsive severity, and to a stiff and wanton tyranny of creeds, such as meets us in the 17th century? To the progress of science alone—science, which teaches how to distinguish between the letter and the spirit—science, which the coward only fears, which he, who knows her not, only can calumniate.

But how very far in the rear was such science in Zwingli's age! Philology, history, an enlarged knowledge of nature and

en images were carried to the swamps and burnt there. "Every body fell upon the idols. We tore them from the altar, the walls and the pillars. The altars were beaten down, the idols split to pieces with axes, or smashed by hammers. You would have thought it a field of battle. What a noise! what a breaking! what an echoing in the lofty ceiling!" *Kessler.*

geography—what light have they not since furnished for the explanation of the Holy Scriptures! With what wonderful rapidity the results of scientific investigation, universally intelligible, are poured out by an unfettered press among the multitude! Questions must now be started, *can not be kept back*, on which nobody then, or at least a very few, ever thought; and if three centuries ago a knowledge of grammar only was needed for the interpretation of Scripture, there is now need of philosophy also.

Still, in a book designed for general information, we cannot enter deeply into what is scientific. It is enough to shew plainly, that Zwingli must not be judged by the ideas of our age, if in the discussion about images he opposed his friend Schmied.

In the noble feelings of the latter he shared, but surpassed him, in a just appreciation of the age and its immediate wants, and in the logical carrying out of a well-weighed system. Only by holding firmly to the very language of Holy Scripture could he keep his ground against his numerous opponents, for only thus far were his hearers able to follow him. We will see hereafter what difficulties he prepared for himself, when, instead of clinging to the letter in explaining the words of the eucharist, he yielded to a freer spirit.

“Well has my lord and brother said”—so Zwingli answered Schmied’s objections—“that we ought to put away the false images in our hearts by the preaching of God’s Word. I hope too that Leo and I have not been negligent in this; but he has spoken ill, when he calls images “the staves of the weak.” Where is there any passage of this sort in the Holy Scripture? But we are to follow its plain language. And it is clear as day, that it permits no images, least of all those of gold and silver, of whose value poverty is deprived.”

Hofmeister also thought, that, according to the commission

he had received, he must admonish the commander to contend only with Scripture. The latter, from respect to the order of the government, did not prolong the colloquy.

So decided was Zwingli's victory, so general the aversion to meet him, that a whole troop of those, who were enemies, carpers and boasters behind his back, now became silent in his presence, when called by name. The manner in which some tried to get out of the affair was quite characteristic. This one played the part of an injured man, and growled out, that no body had a right to ask him as long as he kept his peace; that one naively declared, that he had believed the old, but now he must believe the new; a third, that he would teach nothing bad, that he could understand neither Greek nor Hebrew, and it were well if these languages had never come into the country; a fourth, that he could not fight, his sword having been broken off at the hilt; the prior of the Augustinians said, that he could give answer any moment from the Papal Decrees, and if he was not able to do it, then he would stand there like any other "cowled pate;" and the rest in a similar strain.

Thus the fate of images was decided by an easy battle. "This has been child's play,"—said Zwingli—"but now we come to a more important matter."

Here again we must be reminded, that it belongs to the province of theology, not history, to show in what nearer or more remote connection the doctrine of the mass, as then laid down and practised by the Church, stands with the declarations of Holy Scripture. It is enough to remark, that it rests upon the idea, so deeply rooted in the human spirit, of the duty of sacrifice. But what is true sacrifice? At bottom, nothing else than offering up to Him, from whom we have everything and by whom we are. In such offering—in offering at the same time from the purest love for man, Christ has gone before us all. That the perpetual presence of his sacrifice, therefore, must

strengthen us in faith and love, we all agree. But then there is a difference between the sensuous and the spiritual apprehension of the fact. Zwingli taught that Christ offering himself must not be looked for in a host made of meal, but in his living image, the helper of the needy. "He who receives one of these, receives me"—so He himself once said. This was the plain, practical view, which Zwingli maintained not only in this Conference, but in his whole system of doctrine also.

This practical view has for centuries now exerted its influence amongst us, and with whatever reason we may be censured for other things—that there is a sense of active benevolence amongst us can never be denied. Here, Zurich, hold firm! Here is thy rock! May thy Church lean on it with wisdom, in youthful strength! Then need she dread neither time, nor science, nor Jacobins, nor Jesuists. Religion, that flower of life, has its root neither in the vague dreams of the rustic, nor in the naked formulas of the philosopher, but in noble, unpretending acts. Here the real and the ideal, the beautiful and the true meet for their eternally necessary mutual strengthening and purification.*

Owing to the nature of the subject, the Conference assumed a more peaceful and scientific cast, and at times became quite familiar. Even Zwingli, especially after the commander Schmied had again spoken in his mild, conciliatory manner,

* *For scientific readers:* Neither mysticism and pietism; nor dogmatism alone are able to sustain the Protestant churches. Mysticism and pietism yield to more consistent catholicism; dogmatism, without symbolical books, which lose their authority where the press is free, succumbs to philosophy. The simple *eternal* dogma of Christ stands: *By its fruit shall ye know the tree.* The time will yet come, when all who practically reverence this dogma, will form the one, universal church, and all others, be they marked with the cross or protests against it, the no-church. For this no revolution is needed, not even much change in forms. *It will come from within.*

confessed to his most persevering opponent, Steinlin, people's priest at Schaffhausen, that he had learned much from him, and desired, that, if severe expressions sometimes fell from his lips, they should not be laid too much to heart. "Many"—said he—"there are, who catch up only the bitter things said by me, and so too it happens with that learned gentleman, Martin Luther, whom they are willing to imitate in naught, save the sharpness of his language, which nevertheless he often utters out of true, ardent love; but the pious, faithful heart and its struggles after truth, remain unnoticed."

The earliest traces of a fire, which afterwards broke out destructively, began to appear first on the evening of the second day. Mention has already been made of Conrad Grebel, Zwingli's previous friend and admirer, and also of his father, the councilor Jacob Grebel. The history of this family, truly told, would be a warning for all, who expect from the chances of fortune that happiness, which is only to be found in contentment and a pure conscience. A skillful man of business, frequently employed in the affairs of Zurich and the Confederacy, the father had formed extensive connections. His house in Zurich was always open to the ambassadors of foreign princes and distinguished allies; in consequence of which his expenses gradually became greater than his income. His sons and daughters grew up. Their welfare and that of the family was sought in splendid living. The elder daughter became prioress of the convent of Eidenbach; the younger, at a later period, the wife of Vadianus; she was the most fortunate of the children, the only one happy till a ripe old age. One of the sons entered the service of the Archduke Ferdinand as a gentleman of the bed-chamber; the other, Conrad, lived at Vienna and Paris on sums of money, which the father knew how to obtain from the Emperor, the King of France, and Duke Sforza of Milan. His extravagance aided not a little in the ruin of the family. More

and more the father put himself under dangerous obligations to strangers. He did it too, after the penalty of death had been affixed to the taking of foreign pensions. Already had one son been dismissed from the service of the Archduke, and Conrad returned home in shattered health and burdened with debt. The convent at Eidenbach was broken up; the mother tormented by sickness, domestic calamities and her own passionate disposition, increased the general misery. Then the bribery of the father came to light, and an old man, with snow-white hair, he ended his days on the scaffold, in 1526. His dignified behavior, when led to the block, excited universal pity. Some months before he had begged the authorities to pardon his ruined son, the chief cause of his misfortunes.* For himself, he would not do it. What value would a longer life have had in view of such a downfall!

We have anticipated, in order to show the fate of the family in its connection; the thread of our story now leads us back to Conrad. To no common abilities he had joined industry and a thirst for learning in his earlier youth, and knew how to gain the good-will of Zwingli and Vadianus. Many letters bear witness of the friendly relations in which he stood toward both; but his character gradually became worse, and he could not escape the never-failing consequences of debauchery. Not the body only, but the spirit also, sinks under them. Peace vanishes from the soul; insight into the sphere of duty and the relations of life grows dim. Still, at times a nobler feeling awoke within him; he acknowledged the justice of his sufferings, bewailed his folly and strove to break loose from his fetters; but then again he would accuse others, especially his father. How severe and dreadful is the language which he uses in a letter to Vadianus: "My father would discover my crime, if the beam in his own eye did not hinder him from seeing the

* Why? will be seen hereafter.

mote in mine. He does not know what I have had to suffer on his account, since he first caused me to be fed by the Emperor and then by the King of France. Had he taught me to get along with a small patrimony according to the national custom; had he not wished me to soar higher, as my wings grew, in the track of his other son, then would I not be troubled, when the betrayers of the fatherland are cursed, lest my father should be included among them; then would I not, when such are spoken of, grow now red with shame and now pale with fear, lest they should say my father was a French hireling; then would I not be irritated; then would I not be compelled to tremble for a speedy discovery; then would I not have to think of resitutation; then perhaps had I never bartered my freedom for gold and my honor for sordid metal. The King flays his people and snatches the food from their mouths like a wolf, that he may adorn his person and fare sumptuously, and would have once been able to bring me to God knows what, if my native city had raised me to honor and dignity. O that it were granted me, to plunge from this misery into another, or to escape both, and reach the shore from the wreck in a happier hour! Is this denied me? then do I set myself against fate and the gods and will brave the torture, till their wrath is satiated in my grave. Glad am I that the plague, which still spared many, during the past autumn, has broken out here again in the course of this month!"

Thus, Zwingli's labors in Zurich began to stir up base elements, along with what were truly noble and pure. People, who were lacking in means to rise, and often justly low in public esteem, now called out likewise for change, so that their old incapacity, or their old sins, might be forgotten. The deeper the agitation, the more they hoped to gain. Then already Grebel was numbered among them; the better spirit had wholly forsaken him. Others of a like stamp clustered around him. To stand with Zwingli they would have needed purer morals, more

labor of the mind, and above all self-denial. This would not do for them. They must outstrip him therefore, in order to gain their end the more quickly.

It has already been remarked, that the first traces of their disturbing influence appeared at the close of the disputation. Lame, frivolous were the questions about mere externals in the administration of the Supper, the form of the bread, the kind, as how it ought to be brought to the mouth, the time of taking it, which Grebel started—difficulties that he would find everywhere; then, supported chiefly by Simon Stumpf, people's priest at Hœngg, he impugned the right of the government to issue ordinances; all evidently designed to produce an excitement, to rouse the spirit of sect, to make himself a party. With generous forbearance Zwingli answered him; but here again Conrad Schmied spoke out against fanaticism and a rage for destruction. He brought the insurgents to silence, and then proceeded to deliver an ample discourse on the need of better instruction, which met with general approbation. His spiritual superiors had hitherto refused, for good reasons, to inform the people. "The more need"—continued he—"is there, that you, dear Sirs, should take the work boldly in hand. For money, you have helped many an earthly prince to his land and his subjects, help then, for God's sake, Christ our Lord to his dominion and honor."

No one opposed this. Then Zwingli spoke once more, begging all to hold firm to the Gospel, and never to despond as long as they leaned upon it. "What is done from the best motives will be misrepresented by falsehood and slander. Thus it had been said here and there yesterday evening that we would now degrade the body and blood of Christ into sleeping-cups. No!"—cried he—"no one certainly wishes to do this." Tears interrupted his speech and many other were heard to weep. "If God will"—said Leo Judæ—"we will all stand by the Gospel, and

cheerfully will I, if need be, lay down my life for it. They may kill the body, but the soul they can not kill. The Scripture ought never to be used for quarrelling, or display, but for the improvement of our lives, and if perchance I have spoken too harshly to any one, during the present conference, I ask his forgiveness." Zwingli did the same. The presidents now laid down their office with a petition for Hottinger and the other prisoners, in which the Abbott of Cappel, the Commander of Kuessnacht and the Provost of the Great Minster joined.

The issue of this conference formed a new epoch for Zurich. The government prudently resolved to do nothing rashly, to change nothing suddenly. Even images and relics should not be taken from the churches for a while, yet, where it was possible, covered, locked up, but in no case injured. He, who wished to read mass, or to assist in the reading, was permitted once more to do so. The rules of fasting also were to be observed; but the Great Council had already put forth the declaration, that in spiritual affairs it would henceforth be the court of decision with the advice of the people's priest, or *bishops*, as it styled the pastors of the congregations in a public document.* Hottinger, on account of his rash conduct, was banished from the canton for two years, and Lorenz Hochruetiner, who with foolish obstinacy had repeated the act, for life. Several associates of these "Idol Stormers" had to lay down considerable sums as bail for their peaceful behavior. Simon Stumpf, people's priest at Hoengg, whose name occurs above, was obliged to leave the country, till permission for his return could be granted, "on account of his rough sermons, speeches and other things he had done."†

* In the "Advice concerning Images and the Mass."

† The contradictions in the character and behavior of this man, who was rather eccentric than morally corrupt, are well depicted in *Kirchofer's Continuation of Wirz's Church History*, Part II. p. 222.

The most pressing want, just then, was the instruction of the ignorant *priests of the people*. Hence, by order of the government, Zwingli prepared a small book, under the title of "Christian Introduction," in which the chief articles of evangelical doctrine, and founded on these, a decision against the former dogmas and practices of the Church were brought together in the plainest possible language. This was placed in the hands of all the preachers in the canton, with the summons to adhere to this pattern in their discourses. At the same time it was sent to the governments of the collective states, to the bishops of the Confederacy and to the University of Basel, with the request that it might be tested and refuted, if it contained any points at war with the Gospel. The government, it is to be observed, had made up its mind to wait a full half year for refutations, and then, if nothing arrived, to proceed to the removal of abuses, and the introduction of a new church-order.

The reformation of the state kept pace continually with that of the church. No one was more thoroughly convinced than Zwingli, that the civil was the result of the religious corruption, and *vice versa*. Soon after the end of the Conference he again delivered a vehement discourse against the mischief of pensions, traces of this evil being still apparent and it required no great penetration to perceive, that it stood in connection with the spirit of fanaticism, which began to show itself toward the close of the disputation. After this discourse, on the 21st of December, 1523, the burgomaster and the councils took an oath against all pensions; on the day before, the entire priesthood had done the same. Transgressors were threatened with capital punishment.

Meanwhile the Bishop of Constance had sent a very detailed report on the Introduction, to the Council of Zurich, with the notice, that in drawing it up he had availed himself of the advice of several universities. A committee, consisting of nine

of the most learned clergy, four members of the Small and four of the Great Council, were ordered to give it a careful examination, and on their motion the whole of it was read aloud in the assembly. As Bullinger informs us, "all agreed, that there was little ground for it in the Divine Word."

A similar judgment was passed by another committee, appointed to examine the objections raised against Zwingli, during the present Conference, by the canon Hofmann and several members of the Chapter.

The opinions of the Confederates were yet to be looked for. But they had trouble, to come to an understanding among themselves. True indeed, it was determined to turn a common front against Zurich for her remarkable innovations; but as to what should be said, the instructions are very dissimilar. "Let us act in a friendly way," wrote the burgomaster of Schaffhausen and such was the order from Bern, Glarus, Basel, Solothurn and Appenzell; but Luzern, Zug, Freiburg and the three Forest Cantons were in favor of "remaining true to the old faith and telling Zurich very plainly what ought to be told to her." At last they agreed to complain against several particular articles, to lay which before the Great Council deputies appeared in Zurich on the 21st of March, 1524. The deputy of Schaffhausen, not being authorized to make special complaint, withdrew from the others, who then made a report, of which the following is the substance: With pain, we see the increase of the new, unchristian Lutheran religion in the Confederacy; with pain, that Zurich abets the mischief. It is clear as day, that disorders only spring from it. Hence, the *landvogt* of Baden has been hindered from throwing several criminals into prison, at Weiningen, where the supreme court of the duchy sits; at a fire there the peasants laid hold of sword and spear instead of water-buckets; at Stammheim they insulted the crucifix and images; at Elggau, a pious clergyman,

who remonstrated with the pastor, was obliged to flee the church and the parish; at Kuessnacht the tithe has been refused to the Cloister of Engelberg, and at Wædenschweil the steward of the Knights of St. John has been abused. The *landvogt* of Zurich circulates Lutheran books in the free bailiwicks; a parson has said at Rifferschweil that it is all one to baptize a man or a block of wood; the priests take wives, and the monks and nuns abandon the convents. No longer can this be borne, and we pray Zurich to maintain the old treaties and customs, and then we will cheerfully aid in rooting out real abuses, the shameful trade in benefices, the selling of indulgences and the scandalous lives of the clergy.

Things important and unimportant, true and false, were mingled in this report. A written answer was required. In this it was easy to show, that to give information in regard to the scenes at Weiningen belonged altogether to the lower courts at that place; that the affair at Stammheim was disapproved of, would be looked into and corrected; that the priest, who had interrupted the pastor at Elggau in an insulting manner, whilst preaching would be indebted to their protection for a safe return to his home; that Kuessnacht had not refused the tithe to Engelberg, and that the pastor at Rifferschweil had not said that of which he had been accused. But, in order to justify herself on other points, it was necessary to enter more deeply into the views of faith prevalent at Zurich, which was not to be done by a diplomatic communication through the Secretary of State, but by Zwingli himself, publicly. This disposed the deputies of the confederates, who on other accounts were displeased with the Reformer, to an unfavorable reception of the answer. "That Zurich," so it was said in the Recess at Luzern on the 1st of April, 1524, "sent in a discourse and sermon from God's Word, is not necessary to mention here."

The last word of Zurich to the Bishop of Constance met with

as little favor. From all sides reports of an unfriendly character came to the ears of the government; yea, it began to be rumored, that some of the states seriously thought of giving back their written treaties to the Zurichers.

From whom had the government now to seek its most powerful protection? Only from God and its own people.

To learn whether they could be relied on, information was sought through their *vogts* and civil officers. "Faithful and beloved friends"—so runs the paper, which was sent out to be read publicly—"you know how we have held conferences in our canton for the settlement of the dispute. The truth has been revealed, and we would have had a perfect right to do away all abuses immediately. Still we did not wish to hurry, and afforded opportunities on all sides to show us what was better. Our gracious Lord, the Bishop of Constance, has tried to prove, in a book written by his own hand, that we are guilty, that we ought to adhere to images and esteem the mass a sacrifice, as hitherto. We have examined it, compared it with Holy Scripture, and have only been able to find that we ought to obey God rather than man. Our brethren of the Confederacy have sent their deputies to lay such complaints before us. Accept the answer which we sent them.* After this, we heard that they in Luzern gave out, that they would put down this "picce of work," as they call it. We have asked them, *where* they intend doing this. They have answered, just where it suits them. Again it reached our ears, that we were grossly slandered, as to city and canton, in Luzern. We sent two of our councilors hither with the request, that they would allow them to vindicate us before the people. It was not granted. Still they appeared before the Great Council, and desired that such calumniators might be brought against them. We inform you of all this, in the hope that you will be of like mind with us in

* It was publicly read.

this Christian business. Remember, how many good, honest men, we, by the use of God's Word in these times of war, have kept alive and spared for their wives and children. Heretofore, you have acted faithfully in this and other matters, like pious people. How much more should we, in that which concerns the honor of God, the salvation of our souls and our consciences, keep together, use the Divine Word, and be one in protecting and defending ourselves. If this happen, then God is with us, whom no one on earth or in hell can withstand. Therefore take friendly counsel together, and let us know your resolutions."

Now again, all the answers agree in substance. There was not *one*, in which the determination to uphold evangelical liberty was not expressed in strong language. "We testify"—wrote Winterthur—"and have resolved, as far as in us lies, to be eternally loyal to our gracious Lords of Zurich, according to our oath, and place at their disposal our honor, our bodies, our goods and our lives, and are willing to defend the same by the Holy Word of God;" but it seemed also to be the general wish to remain in alliance with the Confederates, and, if it were possible, in peace. Thus the people of Wädenschweil and Richterschweil gave notice, that they would be neighbors with them at Höfen and Zugerberg, who had always dealt with them in friendship and love, as they also did with them as far as possible. Thalweil also prayed that war would not be begun for the sake of one or two, be they clergy or laymen. For the rest they were pleased with the just commands of the Lords and all, which they heretofore had so excellently managed, for they had always acted like wise men. Not in the ill-will of the Confederates, but in their instigation from Zurich, the reasons of the discord were to be sought—in their instigation by a minority still present in the Council, who were opposed to the Gospel and addicted to taking pensions, at least secretly, by perverse

clergymen, by the people of the convents, by unwearied letter-writers and forgers of lies. "There is talk"—says a memorial from Wiedikon, Albisrieden and Altstetten—"that all the opposition only comes from our own people, and therefore we desire that such base-intentioned persons be looked after, be they in the Council or elsewhere, and be compelled to keep still and quiet and cease their contrariety. So will we ever pledge to the noble city of Zurich life, honor and fortune. We beg our Lords only to hold bravely to their mandates and the Word of God, and we will faithfully aid them in using and protecting the same." In like manner the congregations of Neuamt write: "We have reason to know, that You, our Lords and Superiors, are not one in the Small and Great Councils, but are divided in this business, which is a great trouble to us. Therefore we earnestly pray you to put away all such discord and be united, so will we also pledge our persons and our property to God's Word and our Lords."—"Nothing is kept secret"—wrote Buelach—"in Your Small and Great Council, but everything is continually published through the whole Confederacy, and this grieves us. We pray you therefore to make diligent inquiry and expel the babblers, and drive off them who are opposed to God's Word; then it should be cared for that the entire country should not be disturbed by them." Eglisau asked for the same thing with the addition: "If you, dear Lords, are not strong enough to punish such people, we will help you with our persons and our property." That from Ruemlang carries the same sense: "Further, it is our wish and advice, that You, as our Lords and Superiors, will look after the adversaries of God's Word, both those who sit in your Council and those who are of the clergy, be they priests or monks, and expel them from the city and canton, for it is certain that the greatest displeasure of the Confederates has sprung from this source; and if You, as our Lords and Superiors, are not strong enough for

them, we will stand by you with our persons and our property, for such things can be endured no longer." With a hankering side-glance at the fat possessions of the monasteries, they of the Four Wards wrote: "We have received the friendly and gracious communication of our Lords with great thanks, and wish to be among those who pledge person, soul, honor and property to the Word of God and their Lords and Superiors, especially to those who mean well, and not to the base, who strive against God's Word. For the rest, it is our wish, that You, as our Lords and Superiors, would punish and drive away those wicked ones, who fight against God's Word, be they in the Council, in the city, or in the canton, be they clergymen or laymen, for it is certain, that the displeasure of our Confederates has, for the most part, arisen from this quarter by their letter-writing and other rebellious acts; and if you are not strong enough to punish or drive them away, we will aid you with our persons and our property to drive them off. In the third place, be it our will and opinion, that you will take care of and drive away by the help of God's Word, all the soup-eaters, who crowd together, as is well known, in the monasteries; for if this be not done, we will see if we also cannot some day obtain such eating and drinking." And still more fully Riespach and Hirslanden: "It is also our earnest opinion, whereas numerous and manifold speeches and lies have hitherto been written and sent off by the clergy and laymen to the confederates generally and particular cantons and cities, and have been little inquired into as yet, by which great injury and loss of reputation may fall upon the city of Zurich and its territory, since, when our people go from home, be it to Luzern, Zug, Baden or other parts, then they all say: Such reports came from Zurich;—therefore we wish this business to be better looked into; and if the Gospel is to be protected, such persons ought to be punished according to their deserts. We also pray

our Lords, that, where there are ill-minded priests, who will not obey their statutes and always speak and act against the Gospel, God's Word, all such be thrust from their livings and the churches supplied with good pastors; for it strikes us that otherwise we can never hope for peace. Further, we pray our Lords to sequester the property of the monasteries and the canons, so that it may go to the aid of the poor, who everywhere sit before our churches; so that the Confederates and other strangers may not say: "If they are such good Christians in Zurich, why do so many poor people sit before all the churches? Hence we think that the tithes, which we raise, more justly belong to the poor than to nonsensical priests, who write here and there behind the back of the government. Hence it is our urgent prayer to our gracious Lords of Zurich, that they deliberate on the above-cited points, and if then it seems better to their wisdom to do so than to leave it alone, we all and each one in particular will pledge his soul, honor, body and goods to the city of Zurich, and esteem you, our dear Lords, as true fathers, as we hope you will find us good, willing, dutiful and submissive children, even unto death."

The tenor of these answers was sufficient to show the government, that, even if it wished, it could no longer delay the progress of the reformation, and that only by action, just as decided as cautious, would it be possible to prevent an outbreak of the flame, which already appeared in scattered sparks.

Hence an ordinance of the Council was passed for the removal of the images in the most quiet way, with forbearance and care. Whoever had presented any to the churches, or had caused them to be made at his own cost, could take them home without molestation. If the majority in a congregation were opposed to their removal, then it was commanded to wait till they were better informed. All processions were forbidden, even the pilgrimage to Einsiedeln, in memory of the victory at

Tættweil. The latter, celebrated by a dangerous mingling of both sexes in a march of several days and in the monastery, was discontinued accordingly, and this was regarded as an act of hostility. But why should public thanks to the Supreme Disposer of battles, why should joyful remembrance of the bravery of their fathers cease?

The reform of the clerical foundations and monastic life was very thorough. Mention has already been made of that in the Chapter of Canons at the Great Minster. Now, it also voluntarily surrendered its secular jurisdiction to the government, but guarded itself on the other hand against the delivery of its rich church-ornaments, which were likewise demanded by the Council and at length taken. Their value went to cover a part of the expenses of the Canton, which were greatly increased by the commotions of the age. At the same time Catherine von Zimmern, abbess of *Frauminster*, gave up to the burgomaster and councils, under the assurance that she and the sisters would receive an adequate support, the convent along with its rights and revenues. The Chapter of Canons at Embrach, the Cistercians at Cappel and the Augustinians at Heiligenberg, near Winterthur, asked of their own accord for a suppression or, a re-organization for a more useful end. The remaining cloisters were taken under the care of the government. Toward the Dominicans of the city the greatest severity had to be shown. They held the richest possessions; and yet, like the Franciscans, were pledged to poverty by the rules of their order. "On Saturday, Dec. 3d, 1524,"—Felix Weiss narrates—"the burgomaster and the councils ordained, that the three men of the monasteries, namely, the Dominicans, the Augustinians and the Franciscans, should be united, and the younger portion of them taught trades. If any did not wish to remain, to these a viaticum was to be given; and to all who desired to remain in the monastery a comfortable support for life and permission to die a peaceful death. Thus,

on the Saturday aforesaid, in the afternoon, without notice or warning, the three chief officers and other members of the council, accompanied by the police of the city, led the Dominicans all at once to the Franciscans; and directly after that they went to the Augustinians and summoned them all. They were obliged to lay down their keys of office in presence of my lords on a table in the convent-parlor. After a long speech and friendly words, they again led them over the upper bridge to the barefooted friars; and thus the rulers of the city, of the Small and Great Councils, honestly disposed of the people in all the monasteries. Soon after, their portion was assigned them, so that those who were willing to stay in the monastery of the Franciscans, would receive lodging and shelter there and wood enough; besides, to each one 6 shocks of grain, 6 buckets of wine and 32 pounds *Haller* were promised every year."

Out of the ordinary revenues of the government, aided by the property of the suppressed monasteries, schools were founded, an alms-house, a lazaretto for the plague-stricken, and an orphan-asylum. The hospital was enlarged, and suitable salaries awarded to its spiritual and lay attendants. Scholastic education was greatly needed, and where qualified teachers could not be obtained from the city, they were called from abroad. Thus Myconius was brought back to Zurich. Rudolph Collin followed him from Luzern. Wiesendanger came from the village of Dynhart, after him Pellican from Alsace; all in order to teach the ancient languages.

Zwingli now resolved to marry, and on the 2d of April, 1524, led Anna Reinhart,* in whom he found the guardian

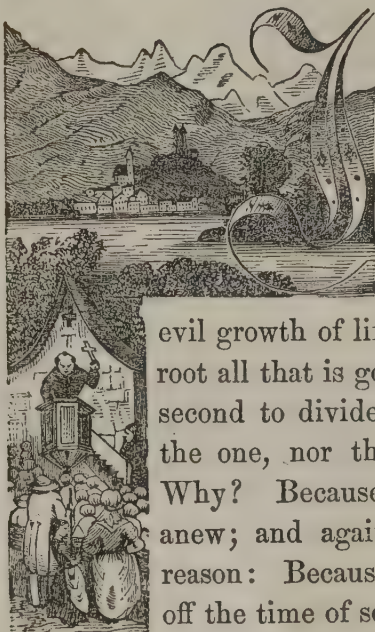
* She was the widow of Hans Meier of Knonau, who died in 1520, and had a son by him, named Gerold, whom Zwingli loved like a father and to whom he dedicated a work on the education of youth. Little is known of her during her marriage with Zwingli. But a single

angel of his earthly existence, before the altar, to take the pledge of fidelity in the presence of God and the congregation. Henceforth the priests wished to be, above all, Christians; but to all Christians without exception, the call has been made according to the language of the Aposle, to become priests by inward consecration, priests without love of power and without the spirit of caste.

short letter is extant, written by her husband from Bern, in which he asks her to send a cap-pattern to one of her relations there. Solomon Hess in his Biography thinks that Zwingli read his writings aloud to her. The author begs leave to doubt this, indeed rather to believe, that he would have heartily laughed, if the learned stuff was tedious to her. Mind and heart she certainly had, and he talked with her not merely about kitchen and cellar; but she probably studied him more in his actions, than in his works.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

DANGERS OF THE REFORMATION AND ZWINGLI'S BATTLE AGAINST THEM.



IN our times we hear such frequent use of the word *radicalism*. What is its true meaning, according to its derivation? Action, that penetrates to the roots. We can imagine a *good* radicalism, which would tear out by the roots all the evil growth of life, and also a *bad*, which would up-root all that is good. The first strives to unite, the second to divide. Experience teaches that neither the one, nor the other, is continually prosperous. Why? Because new tares and wheat spring up anew; and again why? Christ has given us the reason: Because the Lord of the harvest has put off the time of separation. Should this make us indifferent, and negligent in the cultivation of the garden?—We would soon feel the merited results in its dreary desolation. No, it ought to teach us that to every individual his daily labor is appointed, and to every generation of men its conflict; that none can so finish its task, or will so finish it, that the succeeding durst sit down at ease; but that one is the most fortunate which has foresight enough to separate the good and the worthless plants in their earliest stages, the better to cherish the

former and as much as possible to keep down the latter. What then is the great, the most important want of political and social life? It is—education. But mere instruction is not education. For in that case the best men would come from the institutions, which are most richly endowed, and yet experience so often teaches us directly the contrary. Indeed, the most important part of education, more influential yet than instruction, without which the latter would be eternally defective, is example. And here again we are referred to the Word of Christ, which summons us to look for fruit. This is the doctrine of religion; to call fruit into life, is the task of the church. Let her see to providing example, and the school instruction, and let both strive honestly to unite knowledge with example. Then only can, then only will their influence be harmonious.

He who pens these remarks is not concerned about the objection, which may be made: What will example, what will all our endeavor to call into existence nobler examples avail, if a one-sided training of the understanding to mock at example and laugh to scorn everything noble in life, teaches that the highest good is to be sought in base, private advantage? if all our means of correction, all authority to interfere be given up? The element of the church is faith—faith in the inward power of truth and goodness, which does not suffer itself to be disheartened by results that appear insignificant, or even by the momentary preponderance of evil. He who has it not, let him not devote himself to her service. They who have it, let them secure a circle of operation as free as possible; and this is the course of wisdom for rulers.

Let us now return to Zwingli, a man in whom such faith and knowledge were joined, and learn to know him also in his battle with the dangers, into which his bold undertaking led him.

The public religious conferences had wakened in the city of

Zurich a spirit of inquiry, not, it is true, of that unrestricted kind which seeks a philosophical basis for the dogmas of faith, according to the deductions of human reason, but of that higher order, which looks to their agreement with Holy Scripture. When this was settled, investigation was at an end; but in the settlement there were peculiar difficulties. Who would warrant the accuracy of the translation, when disputes arose? Who would decide whether the obscurer passages should be understood according to the bare sound of the words, or if a more spiritual meaning were applicable?—Synods? Church Councils? They were necessary, indispensable for the maintenance of order in the church. They could work very beneficially for the improvement and spiritualization of systems of doctrine. But to surrender to them the deciding power in matters of faith—that would have been a return to the abandoned principle of Catholicism. To this prelacy and intolerance would have been joined inevitably. Or should every individual be left to decide according to his own caprice? How then could divisions, sects and endless controversies be avoided?

Here again faith lent her aid, faith in the inward truth of the Divine Word. It ought to vindicate, it will vindicate itself, the more it is preached by an educated ministry, which believes in its teachings. In this conviction Zwingli and his friends found their support and did not heed the dangers and the temporary confusion, produced by the overthrow of existing ecclesiastical forms in Zurich.

Just in proportion as the Holy Scriptures became known through the press and the pulpit, interpreters arose on all sides. Here it was simplicity, there presumption, and in the majority passion or selfish projects, which prompted them. By this means the people, a short time before so sensible and quiet, were evidently disturbed and excited. Most pernicious dogmas like these—that learning was superfluous, that Christians ought

to own no property, that a nation of brothers needed no government—they attempted to support by the language of Scripture, which was distorted, falsely translated, or torn out of its connection. The general ignorance was too great not to favor the growth of imposture; and the ambition, avarice and debauchery of numbers afforded too many opportunities of temptation to cunning seducers, who spared no amount of travel, writing and dissimulation in order to win adherents and increase the army of dupes. Now let us consider the most important facts.

From their eager violation of existing church usages with unholy parade, and their notorious behavior at the Second Religious Conference we have become acquainted with several leaders of this disorderly party, Conrad Grebel, William Rœubli and Simon Stumpf. Two others, Felix Manz and John Brœdlein, were added; the first of whom by his scientific culture, and the second by his strength of character, as well as by his stubbornness and pride, which did not indeed allow of entire harmony of feeling, soon drew attention, as among the most dangerous.

Manz, like many others in that dissolute age, the intelligent son of a clergyman, had acquired a considerable knowledge of the Hebrew language, little known at that time, and when the want of instruction in it began to be generally felt, he thought himself specially called to become a teacher of it. And had a place been immediately created for him and richly endowed out of the revenues of the newly organized Chapter of Canons, it is highly probable, at least if Bullinger's representation of the man be true, that he would have chosen the nobler path of pure scientific activity. But this was not done, and with Grebel he appeared at the head of the insurgents. In the house of his mother at Zurich, in the New Town, he instituted a nightly meeting, where at first a slight dissatisfaction with the course, which the work of reform had taken, was expressed only in

general terms; but by degrees more decided projects were matured—to possess themselves, if possible, with the direction of affairs, and, as they styled it, to found a new church. To this plan they next sought to win over Zwingli. Stumpf and Manz, as he himself tells us, had repeated conversations with him on this subject. They begged him to bring no doctrines into the pulpit, except such as they would agree upon among themselves beforehand. “No one”—said Manz still further—“is to be received into our church, who has not the assurance in himself that he is without sin.”—“And will *you* belong to it?” asked Zwingli with a stern look. Manz was silent; but from that time forth, he and his associates began to calumniate the Reformer everywhere and throw obstacles into his path.

But the actual outbreak of disturbances was occasioned by Brødlein. A year before, whilst pastor at Quarten, in the bailiwick of Sargan, he had made himself conspicuous. With Rœubli he was among the first of the clergy, who violated the rules of fasting and the vow of celibacy. He had done both in the assurance of evangelical right and Christian liberty; and when the *landvogt* spoke to him about it, he made answer not in the most courtly terms: The *landvogt* ought to punish the lewd and adulterous persons who swarm in his neighborhood, instead of him and his virtuous wife. He was bound rather to protect him, and compel the other clergy to marry. The special sanctity of the priesthood was at an end. If one steals, then you should hang him, even though he would anoint his whole body with oil. The tale-bearers had lied about him like rogues. “Still”—he concluded in a tone somewhat more moderate—“I build my hopes not on men of this world. That much you ought to know of me. God has numbered all the hairs of my head, and not a sparrow falls to the ground without His will, so neither can any one injure me or my wife, if it be not His will, and therefore, dear *landvogt*, you need send

neither thirty nor a hundred men to fetch her. If she has sinned against God, then send the smallest child, and she must come. But if you wish to take, or cause her to be taken from me by force, then know, that you act against God, divine righteousness and the Gospel. Yet I will not repel force by force. I once indeed thought it necessary to do this; but God has commanded me otherwise, and hence I may not teach it to my brethren."

In fact, the *landvogt*, at the requisition of the ruling cantons, threw him into prison. How he escaped is not known. After the Religious Conferences in Zurich we find him as assistant at Zollikon, and here he seems to have been the first to introduce into Switzerland the doctrines of the Anabaptists, which elsewhere had caused so much dissension. Of all, who sought by means of these doctrines to create discord, to make a show or found a party, we can say, that, without exception, they were men of narrow minds, or, in worse cases, hypocrites with dishonorable private aims. Though it cannot be denied, that in later times respectable men have lived in our country under the name of Anabaptists, and are even yet to be found, still their moral worth springs not from their otherwise innocent mode of baptism, but from their religious exercises, their simple way of living, and the good examples, which they have before their eyes. Yet here also we durst not forget, that it is not the part of history to examine articles of faith, but to keep to events and the external phenomena of life.

In May, 1524, when the decree of the government was issued for the abolition of images and the mass, it was told in Zurich, that the inhabitants of Zollikon, roused by the preaching of Brødlein, had broken down the images and altars in the church and even carried away the baptismal font; that the doctrine had spread among them, that it was unchristian to baptise children, because no examples of it were found in the Gospel,

although frequent mention was made of the baptism of adults; that in fact a deluded multitude had desired to be baptised again; that it had been granted to them by several, who set themselves up for apostles; that some ran about in the houses preaching, explaining the Scriptures and administering the Supper; that others, and those often the most simple, pretended to prophesy; and that in general an improper and blasphemous game was carried on in religious matters. They were informed also that Manz and Grebel had appeared there, and the foolish movement was beginning to spread over the surrounding country.

Whilst a portion of the people fell in with such follies, disturbances arose at the same time in the opposite quarter. The majority of the inhabitants of Meilen would no longer suffer their two priests, who had married, to enter the church. They broke into their houses, wasted their wine and provisions, and it was only with difficulty that the government succeeded in bringing about a sort of compromise between the shepherds and their flock.

A month later followed the so-called "Storming of Ittingen." The *landvogt* in the Thurgau had taken the reformer *Æchli* prisoner, and was conveying him by night to the tower at Stein. He cried out for help; the watchful citizens of Stein, on the strength of documents, which gave the right to do this only to them, hurried after, to set him at liberty. Their neighbors of Stammheim, in the canton of Zurich, joined them, and the whole country was soon in motion; but the captors had a considerable start, and the Thur, swollen to the full, prevented the passage of the excited multitude. In a rage they then fell upon Ittingen, the hated monastery of the Carthusians. It was plundered, and set on fire by some one, who was never found out; which act, as is easy to imagine, awakened the earnest interference of the Confederates.

They who were most deserving of punishment fled. Zurich herself cast into prison some others, who were suspected, on account of their prominent place among the insurgents, and not powerful enough to make resistance. These were Hans Wirth, *sub-vogt* at Stammheim, with his two sons, both priests, and Burkhart Ruetiman, *sub-vogt* at Nusbaumen. But the Confederates demanded the delivery of the prisoners at Baden before the court of the ruling cantons, since the criminal act was committed in the Thurgau, and not in the canton of Zurich. The Council of Zurich had to comply. But in Baden the prisoners were tried for other things than the transactions in the Thurgau, put to the rack, and with the exception of one of Wirth's sons, actually executed. The sentence was unjust. Not even the most remote personal participation in the plundering and burning of Ittingen could be proved against them. For the part they took in the removal of the images at Stammheim, which chiefly kindled the hatred of the Confederates, they were not responsible to them. That the government had delivered up these men, so beloved in the circle of their home, to such a fate, produced a very unfavorable impression on the inhabitants of the northern part of the canton, the more so, because the condemned had met death in a brave and Christian manner, and aided not a little to increase the disorders, which afterwards prevailed there.

At this juncture the flame broke out in the German provinces lying beyond the Rhine. Thomas Muenzer, at a later period leader of the Saxon Anabaptists, had come to Basel in Frickthal, and Waldshut in Cleggau. In Waldshut he made the acquaintance of the preacher at that place, Balthasar Huebmeier, who, though a man possessed of an honest will, a tolerable knowledge of Scripture and great courage, was yet apt to lend a willing ear to everything new and striking. When preaching at Regensburg he had raised a riot against the Jews,

then founded a chapel for pilgrims, then turned to the doctrines of Luther, and was just now as ready to embrace those of the Anabaptists.

Through him Waldshut became for a short time the chief seat of this disorder, from which, in church and state, such hazardous consequences were to be feared. First led by Muenzer, and after he had gone to the Hartz Mountains, by Simon Rœubli, who had been expelled from the territory of Zurich, Huebmeier set himself up as the apostle of Anabaptism, and, according to his own confession, rebaptized the greater part of the inhabitants of Waldshut. The warnings of the Austrian government, at first mild and then earnest, had no effect upon them, and the demand for the dismissal of the obnoxious preachers was also in vain. On the contrary, similar fanatics and adventurers of every sort streamed thither from all sides, and when Austria armed herself for severe measures, formal resistance was determined on. Volunteers for this purpose were obtained chiefly from the territories of Zurich. At the first news of the outbreak the government sent a courier to demand their return; but after hearing an address from Rudolph Collin, who, formerly a canon at the Minster, was obliged to leave the territory of Luzern on account of his adherence to the Reformation, and had now joined them with upright feelings and an honest purpose, they declared they would rather die than return home. And their answer won for them immediately a party in the Council. "We are attracted"—so they wrote—"to the Christian brethren at Waldshut, who sigh under oppressive tyranny, not by money, nor for our own private ends—only for the defence of God's Word and from a regard to the honor of Zurich. The Spirit of the Lord has called them to arms; there is no seditious person among them; their captain is Jesus Christ."

Meanwhile, affairs in Waldshut took a turn, which might

have been foreseen by the prudent. The noise of war drowned the devotions of piety. It was a matter of indifference, whether psalms or frivolous songs were sung in the camp. Nay, it fared worse with the former. Huebmeier himself, at his trial, tells of a supper in the house of a merchant, where he sat at the side of the captain amid music and hurrahs. And what the further aims of these pious warriors were is shown by a letter, still extant, written by one of them to the "dear brother and image in God, Heiny Aberly in Zurich," which contains the following: "See, that you send us yet forty or fifty well-armed, Christian fellows; for if there were more of us here, we would then be a council of affairs against the enemy and *my lords* (the government of Zurich); and if we would again be warned home and *then go*, it would serve to the damage and hindrance of the kingdom of God."

This unholy proceeding was soon detected by Collin and other men of honor. They returned home, obedient to the renewed summons of the government. Those who staid behind no longer concealed their plan of open resistance; and this spreading over the surrounding country entered also the boundaries of Zurich.

The first news of it was received by the government from the *landvogt* of Eglisau. The payment of taxes and villanage were refused. A deputy of the Council was pelted with stones. The rebellion extended more and more into the mountain regions. A swarm of insurgents fell upon the monastery of Rueti—the abbot having escaped with the money, jewels and archives—and rioted and caroused there. In many parishes the alarm was sounded; the house of the Knights of St. John at Bubikon was surprised and met a fate similar to that of Rueti. The government with great difficulty succeeded in producing a momentary calm, by a decree inviting the excited country people to hand in their demands and wishes in

writing. This was done by the districts of Grueningen, Kyburg, Greifensee, Eglisau and Andelfingen, and thus it soon came to light in what close connection these disturbances in Zurich stood with those, which then, under the name of the Peasant's War, set a great part of Germany in a blaze. Streams of blood and executions by thousands suppressed it there. In Switzerland such dreadful scenes could be prevented.

Still, the complaints, handed in by the districts of Zurich just named, were closely copied after the twelve articles, which the rebellious peasants of Germany everywhere demanded of their lords. But if reasons for rebellion are to be sought in the tyranny of many nobles, as well as in the confused ideas of the people, then, instead of finding abuses in Switzerland, in the canton of Zurich, there was less cause for complaint against the oppression of the people by the government at no period of her history.

The Council therefore, conscious of an upright purpose and strengthened by the increase of the city-guilds, took the points of complaint, which were presented, into consideration. To yield as far as was fair and just, to hold firmly to all that was sustained by sealed treaties and documents, was the general leading principle. It is true, another might have been embraced, that which has been wrought into our existing political life and immoveably planted there, the principle of entire equality, and the rather because the feeling that it was not altogether foreign to the Gospel, was expressed in the memorials of the people. But the contest for and against this principle could not be carried on by one government; duty and prudence enjoined a rigid maintenance of rights guaranteed by documents as long as possible. Upon another field, that of science, and where the Gospel would be appealed to, theological science, it must be decided beforehand. On this field Luther and Zwingli actually carried on the battle and both showed the impropriety

of using passages of Scripture, and of wresting them from their true meaning, in the affairs of state.

The government of Zurich on her side kept simply to the letter of the articles received from the different districts. These, agreeing in the main points, still varied as to special privileges, customs and the annoyance of some parts of the canton by others.* All were examined and its own answer sent to each district. The reply to the first point, which was the same to all, ran thus: "Since you have declared, that you will have no lords for protectors, save God and the city of Zurich, it needs no answer and is clear of itself, that we will have *one* God, and My Lords are only your natural lords and superiors in temporal affairs, for they have not obtained dominion over you by any kind of tyranny or warlike power, but bought it freely and with ready money. Let them then retain it; for we all should give to God what is due to Him, and to worldly authority what is due to it; and My Lords hope, that you, their subjects, will also find it so."

Although considerable relief was promised in regard to some of the points complained of, still the envoys of the Council, who were appointed to convey the answer into the different districts, nowhere met with a favorable reception. The universal cry was that nothing further could be done without an assembly of the people, and on Whitmonday, June 5th, an announcement was made to this effect, with a call to the oldest man of every household to appear on the field near Töss.

It is not at all necessary, in our day, when such things are so common, to describe this first convention of the people. The only difference between it and ours, consisted in this, that no formal resolutions were drawn up beforehand, and no one un-

* In substance, they had reference to the relation of the people to the government, the tithes, the rate of interest, villanage, freedom of trade, the property of the monasteries and the right to choose preachers.

dertook, or understood how, to preside. Hence the mass was broken up into groups of blustering declaimers or curious spectators, among whom the deputies of the government went about, pacifying here, instructing there, and again perhaps using threats; but "We are to be bidden no longer"—resounded again and again from the incensed multitude—"We wish the cities to get used to walking; for ourselves we will ride once as lords of the day." The popular *landvogt*, Lavater of Kyburg, succeeded in persuading several of the most influential to pacify their friends and neighbors. But the citizens of Winterthur took the wisest course. They invited the entire host into their town, entertained them liberally, and thus made them forget their enterprise for a while.

But the matter was soon taken up again. And for this the inhabitants of the region between the rivers Rhine and Thur were chiefly to blame. In closer connection with their German neighbors, and excited at the same time by grievances suffered in consequence of the Storming of Ittingen, they meditated a separation from Zurich; in any case they intended to deal with the government not in the character of subjects, but in that of an independent party. Meanwhile the government seeing the importance of the crisis, roused itself for prompt action. First of all, some of its prominent members were empowered to raise troops and money, and in general to make all arrangements for defence in the city itself. Then it was resolved to appeal, as before, to all the districts of the canton, that still remained peaceful, viz: those on the lake, in Limatthal, in the free bailiwicks and in the so-called Neuamt, (new bailiwick). The same mode of procedure, observed before, was again employed: a delegation from the Council, their explanations and inquiries, and a request for a written answer.

Information in regard to all that had occurred was given to the assembled congregations in the form of a long vindication.

They were again reminded of the endeavors of the government to keep aloof from every dangerous foreign influence and maintain the Gospel; and then the points of grievance, handed in by the turbulent districts, and the answers sent by the government were laid before them: "More than a thousand florins have My Lords expended already on account of these people, especially those on the other side of the Thur, and their disorderly doings. How miserably the assembly at Töss ended, you will all have learned by this time, and that a new one, still more numerous, is announced to meet at Kloten. Our Lords hope, that, if you are invited, you will not go, but if they desire it, and you do, let it be only to warn them back to duty; and although we believe everything good of you, that yet you will inform the government of your mind, the rather because the people of the lake have been one with the city of Zurich from time immemorial and esteemed as burghers of the same, and it is hoped will be so forever."

Of the answers sent in, as far as they are still extant, the most characteristic may be here quoted:

"To the notice"—wrote *Manedorf*—"which Our Lords have laid before us concerning a strange convocation in the duchy of Kyburg and several manors, our answer is: When our Lords agreed, with their whole canton, to give the go-by to all princes and lords, and thereby spared the blood of many honest people, then we gave them praise and thanks therefor, and it is our earnest will and opinion that Our Lords ought to adhere to that and punish all who transgress their prohibition, whether for the French or other lords, each one according to his desert. For this we are willing to pledge person and property, and so we have already signified to Our Lords. Since they have read before us the articles and grievances, under which the honest people of the manors think they lie, we confess that we have no part at all in them. And since Our Lords have come a second

time to learn what our feelings may be toward them, in regard to the preaching of the Holy Gospel, we again pray them to keep steadfastly to it, and if any one, whoever he may be, wishes to oppress them in this, we cheerfully pledge to them our honor, our lives; our property, and whatever else God has given us. Thus, it is again our humble prayer and desire that you have the Holy Gospel, aforementioned, still preached more and more, and hope that by God's Word many things, of which the poor man now complains, may be done away. But it seems to us, that selfishness yet prevails, and is little willing to relieve the common man, and that there are several preachers, who, after beginning to preach the Holy Gospel, now deceive themselves. Since then we learn, that Our Lords have banished several preachers from their territory,* although they knew they preached nothing but the Holy Word of God and what they knew could be proven by the same, it yet grieves us and it is our humble prayer, that whoever he may be, preacher or peasant, who is enlightened by God to preach the Holy Gospel and prove it by Holy Scripture, that you let him do it, so that this Holy word may come to light; though it strikes us, as above stated, that several preachers have wilfully deluded themselves. Further, when Our Lords were concerned, lest war should arise against the confederates, they sent guns to us everywhere in the canton, but now demand them back again, which appears strange to us, since just at this very time they are building bulwarks in the city. If war is to be feared, then there will be fresh need of the guns; but if you are building bulwarks against us, then God have pity! But we hope He will send his grace and peace between us all. Lastly, since Our Lords have informed us that the people of Kyburg and the manors will assemble again on next Thursday at Kloten, and perhaps send to us, to learn our feelings toward them, and

* Rœubli, Stumpf, and Brœdlein, whom we have mentioned.

that we ought to send thither two honorable men, who may promote peace and quiet, we answer, that, up to this time, no one, either from the duchy or elsewhere, has come with a request to our congregation. But should any one come, then will we act upon his summons in a proper manner."

"We have"—write the people of *Kilchberg*—"listened to Our Lords' oral and written notice, long as it is, and entrust this business to our Lords. They are wise and sensible enough to know what may serve the interests of the city and of us in the country, and how to order matters to our well-pleasing, and we will always stand by Our Lords, as good, honest people. And hence we pray, that, if we should send any one to Kloten, Our Lords will not take it amiss; because we do it for no other purpose than to give good counsel and advise them to disperse."

The congregation of *Thalweil* likewise report, that they "heard the articles read; that they were long and much of them they could not understand, and therefore could give but brief answers. Hence they would let the former answers remain; that they were willing to place person and property at the disposal of Our Lords, as far as concerns the fatherland, and they must stand aloof from foreign lords. They would send to Kloten like they of *Kilchberg*."

Still more confiding was the answer from *Horgen*: "The congregation of the people of the bailiwicks deplore that the notice and demand should be necessary. They also will send no one either to Kloten or elsewhere, if Our Lords or the Canton desire it, for they wish to speak and to do their best, always to be obedient to Our Lords and adhere faithfully to the Word of God. We entrust the matter to Our Lords, who know well what may be to the praise and honor of them and the city."

In the name of the "honest men of *Hœngg*," the envoys of the Council were informed, that they would not lay anything to the charge of others, but whatever their loving neighbors on

Lake Zurich and in the free bailiwicks would agree upon, that would satisfy them also; and they were ready to place wholly at the disposal of Our Lords, in the hour of need, their persons and property.

They of *Regensberg* complained, that several of their neighbors had threatened, that, if they did not go to Kloten on Thursday, "they would run through their houses." Therefore they had appointed "two discreet and honorable men; but still would pledge their person and property to Our Lords."

The letter from the bailiwick of *Regenstorf* bears strong marks of a clerical pen: "Since, in these perilous times, various dissensions have arisen between you, Our Lords, and some parts of the canton, touching tithes, interest and other grievances, out of which sundry conspiracies and meetings have grown and prospered so far, that a part has subscribed the other article and still subscribes; all which is better known to you than to us; what will result from it no one can tell; many fear more evil than good; may God overrule all for the best!—Hitherto we have abstained from all further progress in these affairs. But now, since one cries out, 'not so,' and another, 'may be so,' and we have been invited to a meeting of the Kyburgers, and their deputies, and have had the seventeen articles shown to us—and since, after all this, very lately, the honorable Master Jos von Kusen and Master Wegmann were sent to us by you with friendly greetings, and withheld nothing touching affairs now current and your labor and trouble therewith, and explained to us particularly, by word and writing, about the three communities of Kyburg, Grueningen and Greifensee, and several other matters, and asked us for our answer—we then resolved with one accord, that it would be too difficult to communicate such a reply at once, and therefore desired a postponement till to-day; and now this again is the will, vote and opinion of our community, assembled anew concerning this business, that we

will still, and so long as you act in a Christian manner and faithfully, according to the Divine Word, place our lives and property at your disposal. For although, if we thought to complain much were fit and proper and would help us, we would lay certain grievances and articles before you, yet, on the other hand, we remember the teachings of the holy Evangelists and Apostles—which warn you and us, and show how one part ought to conduct itself toward the other—and your diligence, love, concern and labor with and toward us, though we therein have perceived that you have also slackened somewhat; so, then, we live in hope that you will continue to act as true fathers are bound to do toward their sons, masters toward faithful servants and pious rulers toward their subjects; and establish whatsoever is profitable, peaceful and Christian, and, on the other hand, that you will blot out and uproot whatsoever is ungodly, unjust and unfair, and therefore, we commit the whole business to you, as our loving lords; for such we esteem you according to the flesh, and in conclusion, pray you take not our delay amiss.”

Our last quotation will be from the memorial of a general assembly in Freiamt, which contains the following singular passage: “After we learned from you, our Lords, many articles of the bailiwicks ‘beyond you,’ we find in them some things, which please us, and some which do not. But yet it is our wish to remain as aforetime, and be obedient to you, our Lords. But as several things have been referred to us by the other bailiwicks, they ought to be discussed at Metmenstetten, and arbitrators, who will act for the best, in all these matters sent thither. We wish to keep free from sedition with our persons and property, as much as we can, and trust that you will treat us also as you treat the other bailiwicks. Furthermore, we hope that you will suffer that article to remain to us, whereby no man may be seized or ridden over, who has law on his side, as the bailiff’s roll shows, and also, as regards army-service

in conjunction with the confederates, that it may continue as hitherto. How you treat with the cities,* it does not concern us. Touching the clergy, this is our opinion: If we give to them as heretofore, then they also ought not to deprive us of anything. They often go away and visit each other, by which we lose the administration of the several sacraments. And we thought, if we came before you, Our Lords, you would believe them rather than us; which has occasioned offence to the whole parish."

By these memorials the government was convinced that in a great part of the canton, and especially the more wealthy and intelligent portion, there was still determination enough to support order, and hence it durst venture to summon deputies from the turbulent districts in sufficient numbers to a conference before the Great Council. With them all the preachers of these districts were invited, and the negotiations took place on 22d of June, 1525; concerning which the protocol expresses itself substantially in the following manner:

"Whereas, ye deputies from the duchy of Kyburg and the territories of Eglisau, Greifensee, Grueningen, Andelfingen, Buelach, Neuamt and Ruemlang, together with all the curates and preachers, have sat to-day before My Lords in behalf of the articles, in which the members of the several communities have thought themselves to be aggrieved, and especially in regard to the tithe, and these things have truly come to light—that heretofore the aforementioned preachers have frequently preached from the pulpit and elsewhere, and other persons have asserted in taverns behind their wine, that, according to the divine law and justice, no one is bound to pay tithes, whereby the common people have become seditious and strengthened in such a belief—and whereas in order to reach the bottom of this matter,

* Outside of the Confederacy. In what relation, is not clear from the connection.

it has been discussed and handled in various meetings, and explained at length by Master Ulric Zwingli, that in the beginning the tithe was laid for a pious purpose, though afterward perverted and abused, but yet that it was a just debt and can be fairly complained of by no one—it shall be henceforth the concern of the government that the whole tithe be restored to its right channel and applied to the wants of the needy. Because, moreover, the deputies of the abovenamed communities have made it appear, that these disorders have sprung from the clergy alone and their inconsistent preaching, and they have thus been taught and instructed, and hence have given the whole business into the hands of My Lords; and because they have framed excuses for themselves from the speeches of these clergy, since several of them have spoken and preached more for disorder and strife than brotherly unity, be this answer, after a fair hearing, given to the rebels, that they at once go home and busy themselves in peaceful affairs, and if there are any good-for-nothing people in their own dioceses, who wish to stir up discord, disorder and rebellion, that they drive them off, so that we may not again witness such improper and wanton doings, as lately happened at the monasteries of Toess and Rueti; then will My Lords, as soon as other business permits, sit upon their articles, and with the help of Master Ulric Zwingli and other learned and sensible men, take counsel, and see what, according to the Divine Word, can be remitted, and what not. But in the meantime, every man must pay interest and tithes in church and state, according to the decree last issued.” Then this special admonition was directed to the clergy: “That they shall look well and truly into the Holy Scriptures, busy themselves with the plain preaching of the Gospel, practice the same, and strive more after peace than discord; for if they do not so, the refractory will be punished according to his desert and as opportunity allows.”

By these proceedings the malcontents were silenced for the present, but the government felt that something more was needed for the restoration of order. At a time, when the religious movements occasioned new and unforeseen expenses to the State, it could not abandon any of its former sources of revenue. Hence the tithe-question was clothed with special importance. All the tithes were not church-property; a part of them belonged to strangers, to whom the government was bound to give its protection, and to the same protection the church also had a claim, which was not done away, but only changed. Besides a mere declaration on the part of the government, that the tithe must be paid, nothing more was done. But conviction had to be wrought in the public mind, and to do this, again devolved on Zwingli.

But before he laid the subject before the people, he endeavored to settle whatever was unstable and wavering in the opinions of the Great Council, so that the authorities might proceed the more firmly in their line of action. Still the belief prevailed among many of the members, that the tithe was purely a religious affair, and this position was strongly maintained by the Secretary, Am Gruet, who, Bible in hand, met Zwingli with his own weapons. It is true, that here he could only appeal to the Old Testament, but this yet held too important a place in Zwingli's system of doctrines, to suffer the Reformer lightly to reject its authority for an isolated case. He showed, however, in a long and spirited debate with Am Gruet, before the Great Council and a crowd of other hearers, that the Levitical priesthood, for whom the tithe had been introduced into the Old Testament, came to an end with the Gospel; and by this, according to his view, the question had been brought back from the sphere of religion into that of civil law. But neither Am Gruet, on the one side, nor the Anabaptists on the other, were disposed to let him slip with so cheap a victory. Am Gruet would yield nothing, and in fact the following passage is found in the protocol

of the Great Council, "that neither of the two contending parties has so triumphed that the other is obliged to yield, and that My Lords are not displeased with the warning and exposition of their Secretary, but think he has acted according to his duty and his oath." But the decisive battle, which now drew near, was first to be fought with the Anabaptists.

During the interval, Zwingli prepared for the people a detailed exposition of the rights of the church and state to the tithe, which the government then used as a general and final decree for the disturbed districts. The scrupulous payment of the great tithe* for the future was also enjoined upon them in an earnest tone. In regard to the so-called little tithe, the government promised strict inquiry, the removal of abuses, and a diminution of it, as far as possible.

In the greater part of the canton, through the cautious language of the Council, the exhortations of the more sensible, and the conviction, which won its way into the minds of many, civil order was re-established. One of the creators of disturbance, Suesstrunk by name, was indeed put to death by the sword, and the pastor of Westenbach, who especially distinguished himself by his ill-timed discourses, was thrown into prison for several days and punished with a fine—acts easy to be explained, when we consider the severity of punishments in that age and the grievous losses, which the state suffered by this insurrection.

Only one district of the Canton was not yet pacified: the territory of Grueningen. Here the Anabaptists still retained numerous adherents, and these Anabaptists and their fierce battle with Zwingli are the objects to which we must now turn our attention.

The Holy Scripture is the great record of the religious edu-

* This included not only the seven articles (corn, rye, oats, barley, wheat, wine, hay), but whatever else each district had paid into the great tithe from time immemorial.

cation of the human race. It shows us man primeval in the unconscious innocence of nature; then the patriarchal era with its simple, uniform manners along with its untamed passion; and then again the most active intercourse of nations, the most savage wars, the hierarchical state and the elective and hereditary monarchy. It gives us lofty poetry in the Psalms, the grandest didactic poem in the Book of Job, and a collection of proverbs, the fruit of the ripest experience and knowledge of life. It makes us acquainted with idolatry in its most fearful degeneracy, and then, with the adoration of *one* God and the conflict, rising to the highest pitch of heroism, against this degeneracy. But this God is a mere national God, to be known only within the confined limits of the Jewish state, living personally only here, in and with the people. We see the consequences of this contracted view: hate instead of love, stubbornness instead of docility, stagnation instead of progress. With this first period the books of the Old Testament close.

Is it possible to understand the Gospel, which now follows, in its grandeur, truth, purity and love, without a knowledge of the age, which preceded it? or the prejudices, against which, He, who revealed it, had to contend? We find varying opinions among those who wrote it—the stamp of diverse authorship; here Judaistic narrowness, there freer elevation, homely simplicity, and again deep glow and feeling. We even find contradictions, historical and chronological, and yet, what unity in all that is essential—what agreement in all that contributes to peace in life and comfort in the hour of death; in all that determines our actions and confers worth upon them! Are there any other writings, for whose investigation, for whose explanation, so much sagacity, so much science, so much conscientiousness are demanded? Such are the questions, which very naturally crowd upon us, when we once more survey the man, in whom all these qualifications are joined, as he goes forth

to battle with a multitude of others, who possess them only partially and hence dangerously.

And thus we return again to those disturbers, before alluded to, in the bosom of the Reformed party, who assailed Zwingli more boldly than any monk, and whose scientific culture, adroitness, and, in the end, desperation, prepared for him a far more violent conflict. Conrad Grebel has already been represented to us as morally and physically depraved. The higher spirit, which once attracted Zwingli's entire love to him as a youth, richly endowed by nature, had not yet sunk so far, that it did not show some clear sparks, and sometimes even break out into a momentary blaze.

But when he saw that Zwingli penetrated his inmost soul, understood, pitied and then despised him, he conceived the most intense bitterness against him, which at last deepened into hatred—hatred that stopped at no means to secure revenge. Gathering all his strength, nerving all his powers to their highest pitch, his self-confidence increased; the various modes of interpretation, which isolated passages of the Holy Scriptures admit, made it possible for him to maintain, with a tolerable appearance of truth and certainty, dogmas at variance with those of Zwingli. The support, which he found from those of like mind, the followers who adhered to him, awakened in the head of this fanatic the delusion that he had received a call to be a prophet, and pictured to him a final victory over Zwingli, or at least placed in view the crown of martyrdom, in which latter, one and another of them, perhaps, saw, not without an inward satisfaction, an atonement for the conscious guilt of their former lives. Here again, the simple presentation of the facts will furnish proof for this opinion.

"May God and our Lord Jesus Christ grant it!" wrote Martin Luther, in the beginning of the year 1525, "since a new storm is brewing. I had almost settled down to rest,

thinking the battle over, when all at once this rises up, and it happens to me as the wise man says: If a man leave off, then he must begin again. Doctor Andrew Carlstadt has deserted us and become our bitterest enemy." This defection of Carlstadt, who wished to proceed in the work of reformation more thoroughly than Luther, demanding the destruction of images, and setting very little value on external worship, was spoken of with praise everywhere, and especially at Waldshut, by Thomas Muenzer, during his visit to the borders of Switzerland, about the middle of the year 1524. Muenzer likewise professed these same principles, yea, was ready, for his part, to go still further than Carlstadt himself. Just at this time, the fanatical proceedings in Zollikon, before described, the breaking of the images there and the removal of the baptismal font, took place. That Grebel and Manz were privy to this, and made frequent journeys to and from Zollikon, appears with entire certainty from reports afterward received. With Muenzer they did not become personally acquainted. Before they could accomplish this, he had traveled back to Germany; but his influence on Swiss affairs is evident from two letters sent to him soon after by Grebel and his friends.

"Dear brother Thomas," began one of them, "for God's sake, do not be surprised, that we address thee without title and urge thee as a brother to communicate with us by writing in the future, and that we, uninvited and unacquainted with thee, have ventured to open up a correspondence. God's Son, Jesus Christ, has prompted and impelled us to this act of friendship and brotherhood, and to make known the following points. Moreover thy work in two small volumes, on 'Faith Feigned,' have encouraged us. Hence, if thou wilt take it kindly, it shall be a source of good to us, if God will. Thou shouldst also know that thou along with Carolostadtius art esteemed amongst us as the purest proclaimer and preacher

of the pure Word of God, although ye are little thought of by the lazy theologians and doctors at Wittemberg. We are also thus reprobate toward our learned pastors. With them everything depends on man, everything is done by him, so that they preach a sinful, pleasant Christ, and good discrimination is wanting to them, as thou shewest in thy little books, which have beyond measure instructed and strengthened us poor folks." But then, passing over the chief point, re-baptism, which had won for them a party in Zurich, and as a badge of confession, as a banner, had enabled them to keep together—they thus continue: "Because thou also hast uttered thy protest against infant-baptism, we trust thou actest not against the eternal word, wisdom and command of God, according to which we ought to baptise believers alone, and thou baptisest no child. If thou, or Carolostadius will not write in full against infant-baptism with all that belongs thereto, why and how we ought to baptise, then will I, Conrad Grebel, try my hand and complete what I have begun, against all who hitherto (except thee) have written on baptism at large and deliberately, and maintained the senseless, blasphemous form of infant-baptism; but, if God do not prevent, then am I, and then will I and all of us be sure of persecution from the learned and other people." Grebel also wrote to Luther and informed Muerner of it, in his second letter, in which, moreover, he warns him not to preach resistance against princes with carnal weapons. "For, if thou must suffer on account of thy doctrines, know indeed that it cannot be otherwise. Christ must still suffer in his members. But he will strengthen them and keep them firm unto the end. God grant his grace to thee and us. For our parsons are also fierce and wrathful toward us, and call us villains in the open pulpit and *Satannas in angelos lucis convertos* (wicked spirits in the garb of angels of light). In time we will see this persecution pass over us. Therefore pray God for me."*

* The subscription of this letter is characteristic: Conrad Grebel, Andreas Castelberg, Felix Manz, Heinrich Aberly, Johannes Brœdliu,

In accordance with this view, Grebel and his friends prudently avoided stirring up any formal rebellion. And there is nothing at all to show that they had any direct share in the political movements, which we have already narrated, although their doctrines concerning the fraternal communion of Christians and the unscripturalness of tithes and rents, as they uttered them in general terms, could not but exert an indirect influence upon them. But in these discourses they always added exhortations to a resistance merely passive. By this means they attracted a crowd of followers, persons of excitable feelings and women especially, just in proportion as the doctrine of martyrdom stood high in the Catholic church. Indeed it often seemed as if persecution was only delayed too long for these people. Grebel thus wrote to Vadianus: "They talk of disturbers. They can be known by their fruits—decrees of exile and executions by the sword. I do not think the persecution will be delayed." But neither Zwingli nor the government thought of such a proceeding. They freely confessed that this would only aggravate the evil.

First then, because already, at sundry times, whole troops of these deluded creatures from Zollikon and the neighboring country, had come into the city, clad in sackcloth and ashes, and girt about with ropes, and cried out in the public squares: "Wo to Zurich!" and because a so-called confession of one of their number, a former monk, who usually went by the name of George Blaurock (Bluecoat) and whom his disciples hailed as a second Paul, was spread far and wide and made a great noise, the government ordered a conference to be held with them at the council-house. The following are the literal contents of Blaurock's Confession: "I am a door. He who enters by me

Hans Oggenfuss, Hans Huiuf, thy countrymen of Hall, and seven new disciples of Muenzer rather than Luther.

will find pasture, but he who enters elsewhere, is a thief and a murderer, as it is written: I am a good shepherd; a good shepherd lays down his life for his sheep; so I also give my body and life and soul for my sheep, my body to the tower and my life to the sword, or fire, or the wine-press, where it will be pressed out of the flesh as the blood of Christ on the cross. I am a beginner of baptism and the bread of the Lord, along with my chosen brethren, Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz. Therefore, the Pope with all his followers is a thief and a murderer; in like manner, Luther with all his followers is a thief and a murderer; Zwingli also and Leo Judæ with all their followers are thieves and murderers, until they make this same confession also. I have asked my gracious Lords of Zurich, and still ask them, for leave to dispute with Ulrich Zwingli and Leo Judæ; I may not obtain it, but yet I await the hour, which my Heavenly Father has ordained therefor."

This hour came on the 17th of January, 1525. Bullinger, who was personally present, gives a description, but only a brief one, of the event. The Great Council, the scholars and the clergy were there; Manz, Grebel, Blaurock, Rœubli, Ludwig Hætzler, of whose work against images we have before spoken, were the chief antagonists of Zwingli. The latter began with an acknowledgment, that for some years he had himself been of the opinion, that it were better to postpone the baptism of infants to a more advanced age, but, after mature reflection, had reached a different conviction, which he thought sustained by the true sense of the Holy Scriptures, and then he unfolded this in an extended conversation with the Anabaptists. Whoever desires a more thorough knowledge of his views on this point will find them in his work on "Baptism, Re-baptism and Infant Baptism."* His main arguments for the latter were the fol-

* *Huldreich Zwingli's Werke*. Herausg. von *Schuler und Schulthess*. Band II. Abthg. 1. S. 230. ff.

lowing: Baptism is the external sign of admission into the society of Christians. To have received it once is sufficient. Adults were baptised by the Apostles, because they who first joined the church were of full age. The Holy Scriptures contain indeed no example of infant-baptism; but then just as little can be proven from them, that it was not practised. Mention of it occurs in the very oldest church-fathers. It took the place of circumcision, which had been commanded in the Old Testament, and strengthened the obligations of Christian parents, whilst it became to the children themselves a pledge and perpetual token of fidelity to Him who lovingly bade little children even to be brought to Him.

Light triumphed over darkness, science over sophistry, calmness over passion and stubbornness, the church over the sect, and the friend of reason and order over the demagogues. But it was a victory known only to the higher and educated classes; the people remained, and now the fanatics appealed to them, giving out everywhere, that Zwingli had not been able to withstand them. They held firmly to the letter, that resort of all intriguers and wranglers. Meanwhile, the Council resolved, the next day, that all children should be baptised within a week, that they, who would not permit it, should be banished from the canton; and that the congregation in Zollikon should restore the baptismal font. Grebel and Manz were enjoined to keep the peace. There was to be no more controversy about baptism, but, if desired, other articles of faith might be discussed. Rœubli, Brœdlein and Ludwig Hætzer received an order to leave the district within eight days.

But now resistance began with appeals to the Scripture, that we ought to obey God rather than men. Rœubli, Brœdlein and Hætzer left the canton; but the first kept up an exciting correspondence with his followers, from Waldshut, whither he had betaken himself, and Brœdlein, from Hallan. The latter wrote:

"John, a servant of Jesus Christ, called to preach the Gospel, to the pious Christians, called of God, in the Christian congregation at Zollikon. Ye know, dear brethren, how I proclaimed to you the Word of God faithfully, clearly, simply, and did not deal with it as treacherous landlords, who pour water into the wine; ye know, how I have had courage, to live among you, to labor with my own hands and burden no one; ye know also, that for the truth's sake I have been driven from you by the will of God; finally, ye know, how faithfully I have warned you not to fall away from grace. This very day I call heaven and earth to witness that I taught you the truth. Abide in it, and ye are God's, and He is yours, and ye are blessed. Fall away from it, and ye are children of wrath, and God is far from you; ye are wretched orphans, and will flee before the moth. O how ardent and joyful have I been, since I came from you! Verily, I have not wept, but sung. O how glad I will be, if God suffers me to return to you again! When I had gone some distance, Christ came to us; yea, Christ in the person of his disciple; for a pious brother of Bern, Christian by name, traveled with us as far as Kloten, and left us the next day. Verily, verily, I often slipped on the road, but did not fall. Verily, verily, when we got over Eglisau, I and Wilhelm (Rœubli) despaired of our lives. I thought God had forsaken us. We lost the right path, and wandered about all that day, even among sticks and bushes. But God had thus willed it. Shortly we came to pious people and at last to Hallan. I left my wife and children there, and we went over to Schaffhausen. Verily, we found there our dear brother, Conrad Grebel. We visited Doctor Sebastian (Hofmeister) and took supper with him. Verily, he is of one accord with us in the matter of baptism. Would to God, it stood better with him in other things. We returned again to Hallan. The day after, Wilhelm went to Waldshut. On the next Sunday after Candlemas, I preached

in Hallan and found a great harvest there, but few reapers. The people earnestly desired to hear me, and to this very day desire it. The clergy are as they may be. Antichrist still rules powerfully among the people. Pray God to enlighten them. Dear brethren, abide in faith, love and hope. Let no one terrify you. He who preaches to you any other Gospel, than I have preached, let him be accursed. Greet one another with the kiss of peace. Beware of every brother, who acts disorderly and not according to that, which he and you have learned. Beware of false prophets, who preach for pay. Shun them. Exhort ye one another and continue in the doctrine, which ye have received. The peace of God be with you all!"

That a letter of this sort—that the incessant exhortation and preaching of the leaders of the fanatics, who remained behind, bore legitimate fruit, was soon apparent from a succession of extravagant scenes in all parts of the canton. In entire districts the women particularly rose up. Troops of them streamed together, if any of these apostles came into the neighborhood, and begged from them re-baptism, or a sermon. The edicts of the government were praised by some, but scorned by others; even the clergy assailed them and strife sprang up in the churches. We have a lively picture of a scene of this kind in a letter from the Commander Schmied. "In the action taken"—he writes—"before the congregation at Eck, on account of your edict, My Lords, Pastor Bodmer, of Esslingen, called for Christian excommunication, i. e. the overthrow and rejection of your authority in the matter of baptism. Thereupon Master Laurence told him, that he and his followers had hitherto prevented Christian excommunication. Then Pastor Bodmer walked up and said to Master Laurence: You lie like a vagabond and knave, and if he abused him as a Baptist, he did not speak like a gentleman. Sir Burgomaster! That such a worthy and Christian man as Master Laurence should be

called a vagabond and knave before his own church, and that by a Baptist, as was certainly done, is to me intolerable, and I ask that he may be helped to his just rights, so that such things occur not again. There was such an uproar in the church—they all rose up, joined together, pressed forward and crowded so knavishly through each other, that Master Laurence could not observe who did it. Then the *subvogt* commanded peace. Such an outbreak did this Baptist produce.”

This, and reports of a similar character, which were sent in from the canton, induced the government to place Grebel, Manz, and some dozen of the most stiff-necked rebels of respectable education in the monastery of the Augustines, where Zwingli and the two other people's priests of the city received orders to visit them frequently. It was hoped they would be finally set right. But what a triumph it was for them, when they succeeded in puzzling Zwingli with one of his own assertions! He had said that no one, according to the New Testament, had been baptised a second time. Did he not know that Paul rebaptised those twelve in Ephesus, who had already been baptised by John? * The report of this victory over the hitherto invincible champion spread through the canton with amazing rapidity. “He is fallen,” so they cried, “the false prophet, the great dragon; the Spirit of the Lord is with us. The Gospel will now be everywhere brought to light. Away with taxes! Away with the sword! No Christian will wish to be a ruler! We are all brethren. Sell your goods, lay all together on one heap. Let there be no poor any longer and no rich!” A second conference before a select assembly had now but little influence. The matter must be decided before the people, and Zwingli began to arm himself for the work. Meanwhile, he grappled with the subject in his sermons. He showed the difference between the baptism of John and that of Paul, brought out the antagonism

* Acts of the Apostles, xix, 3-5.

between the letter and the spirit, and unfolded the consequences of the doctrines of the deluded fanatics, in such a clear, lively and convincing manner, that a storm of applause resounded through the church at the close of one of these sermons. The city was won.

But the canton yet remained. "Zwingli has the advantage in the protection of the government and the city," they cried. "Those, who are best able to contend with him, have been exiled, or not permitted to appear. Had it been otherwise, he must have yielded." Many honest, well-meaning people believed this; and the following petition, sent into the government, seems to have sprung from such a belief: "Honorable, wise, gracious Lords, we are indeed free to confess, that you have trouble and labor on our account, and on the other hand, that we are daily involved in great anxiety. Now, we are willing to suffer, and call upon God to help you and us to peace, which can indeed be brought about, if Your Worships propose a public conference, and invite other people to it; let them be those, who have been cast out because of this business, and others also. Then, whatever is established from the Word of God, to that we pledge you our bodies and our lives, our honor and our goods. But if indeed you wish an answer from us, it can be nothing else, than the public confession, that we have not grace from God to talk with Master Ulric, so that he can understand us, or ability to speak straight from the heart.

"Therefore, we pray you, gracious Lords, to permit one or two men at our cost to enter your city with a sufficient assurance of a safe return, since they durst not travel every road for the sake of the Divine Word, because Master Ulric himself has not hitherto shown them much favor. These shall point out on our behalf all the Scriptures, so that every man may thoroughly perceive whether he has been right or wrong in his views of them. Oh God! we desire nothing else than truth and right-

eousness, in which by the grace of God we wish to continue till death. Then, as we have always declared to you, gracious Lords, we will pledge our bodies and lives to Your Worships and to the Word of God and Divine righteousness, gracious Lords! Let the matter, for God's sake, come before a public conference, as in the case of images and the mass. Believe us truly; we wish to do what is right. May God help us thereto! We hope and know that the truth of the Divine Word will come clearly to light, and Your Worships will be content with us. Give us, therefore, for the sake of God and his mercy, a favorable answer."

Upon this, Zwingli himself requested the government to institute a public conference, and the order for it was drawn up on Monday, November 6th, 1525, with a full and free safe-conduct for all those, who thought themselves in a condition to defend their variant doctrines. Zwingli, Leo Judæ and Caspar Grossman, people's priests at the Dominican church, were selected as champions to make reply; and Wolfgang Joner, abbot at Cappel, the Commander Schmied, Sebastian Hofmeister of Schaffhausen, and Vadianus of St. Gall, as presidents for the occasion. The Anabaptists appeared in numbers under their leaders, Manz, Grebel and Blaurock; many of them had come from distant countries; the department of Grueningen, at the command of the government, sent thither twelve deputies. Scarcely had the conference opened at the Council House, in presence of the Two Hundred and a crowd of hearers, who filled up all the chamber, when a newly arrived troop of fanatics pressed in with the cry: "O Zion! O Zion! Rejoice O Jerusalem!" and threw everything into confusion. To prevent such disturbances and to obtain more room, the assembly removed to the church of the Great Minster. Here the battle continued for three days, from morning till late in the evening. Speech was denied to no one: access to none, who wished to hear.

Public opinion grew more favorable to the people's priests. On the third day the attacks of the Anabaptists became weaker; their self-confidence vanished. Only one of them, who had repeatedly asserted that he could end the contest with *one* word, but had still been held back by his associates, who themselves thought him too wild, broke through at last and placed himself, with an inflamed visage, and all the motions of a conjurer, before the people's priest, and cried out: "Zwingli, I conjure thee, by the living God, to tell us the truth." The latter answered very calmly: "That shalt thou hear. Thou art as clownish and seditious a peasant, and as simple as any Our Lords have in the canton." A universal roar of laughter followed, and the act was closed.

The government then issued a public statement concerning the events of this controversy, which, along with other things, concluded with the following words: "After the Anabaptists and their followers have disputed three days, from morning till evening, in our Council House and the Great Minster, in our presence and that of a large crowd of men and women, and every Baptist has spoken all he had to say, without let or hindrance, it has at last been found from the most powerful arguments, based upon the Word of God, that Master Ulric Zwingli and his associates have fairly conquered the Anabaptists, annihilated re-baptism, and upheld the baptism of infants. It has also been clearly evident, during the entire conference, that the creators, defenders, sectarians and wranglers of Anabaptism have played their part in a wicked, bold, and shameless spirit, in that they, a sect and conspiracy against the commandment of God, have undertaken and devised means to bring us over to them; in their contempt of all temporal authority and planting of disobedience, and destruction of love toward our fellow-men; for they think themselves better than other Christians and without sin, as all their words and works, and even their behavior plainly

show." Subjoined was an order forbidding any further cases of re-baptism on pain of a fine, or threats of severer punishment, if that did not prove sufficient. Manz, Grebel, Blaurock and the other leaders of the sect were brought before the Council and earnestly exhorted to confess their errors, but in vain. They were thrown into the Tower. Whilst there, means were found to compose an address, which was soon widely spread and roused up the most stubborn of their followers to new resistance. Hence, when the *landvogt* Berger made known the edict of the government in Grueningen, many of the inhabitants publicly declared they would not submit to it. He then summoned more than a hundred of the most zealous men and women to the castle. Here the twelve deputies, who were at the conference in Zurich assured them with one accord, that Zwingli had conquered, begged them to renounce their errors, reasoned with them, along with the *landvogt*, the whole day, and when at last each was asked for his decision, thirteen yielded; all the others persevered in their opposition.

Meanwhile, the prisoners in Zurich led the government to hope, that if their liberty were restored, they would behave peacefully. It was granted; but immediately they scattered themselves through the canton, and the flame broke out anew. This was also increased by Huebmeier, who after the taking of Waldshut by the Austrians in December, 1525, came to Zurich as a fugitive, and, having likewise held a conference with Zwingli, Leo Judæ and Myconius, in presence of the Councils, declared himself overcome and ready for a recantation from the pulpit of the Frauminster Church. Instead of which, to the great surprise of the congregation, he began again to advocate re-baptism. Zwingli, who occupied the second pulpit, on the opposite side, interrupted him at once and brought him to silence.* He excused himself afterwards by saying, that he

* Bullinger has a description of the occurrence in his "Origin of the Anabaptists."

knew not what he did, the devil must have been in him, and then once more recanted in the Frauminster and the church at Gossau, in the department of Grueningen.

But now the lovers of order and quiet were everywhere fully aroused. The government was universally censured for its forbearance, and most of all in the department of Grueningen itself. The *landvogt* was importuned for severer measures. "It is truly a great thing"—he wrote to the Council—"that you, gracious Lords, have for the third time caused a conference to be held with these people, who speak openly of all the conferences and your desire to do justice, in the most insolent fashion, in spite of your edict, and are not willing to acknowledge they have done wrong. Hence the magistracy have written and prayed the Council and advised, that they come together again on Tuesday, to take the business boldly in hand, for it is publicly declared: 'I hear indeed, if My Lords only receive five pounds, it matters little what the Baptists talk or say concerning all the conferences and edicts; they do no wrong.' In this way great injustice will be done you. Therefore do not take this amiss from me; for the magistracy with your assistance would have passed a far different judgment on the Baptists, and plans would have been formed, which would have produced peace, quiet and obedience. The fines would have been laid on the great disturbers, strife-makers, hedge-preachers and baptisers, and not on poor, simple, miserable men, not on women and children, of whom many have been deluded; yet these are fined as heavily as the chief actors in the play. Henceforth the business must be taken in hand boldly; you will not find me wanting."

In fact the government was now fully alive to the emergency. As soon as any one was convicted of having repeated baptism, he was seized and thrown into prison. The prisons became crowded; Manz, Grebel, Blaurock and fifteen others were con-

fined in the so-called New Tower.* Their sentence was severe: "Nothing shall be given them but bread and water, and they shall lie on straw and thus be left to die in the Tower. Let it then be the business of every one to forsake his projects and errors and be obedient."

The extravagances of the Anabaptists of St. Gall, which were then carried to the maddest extreme, might really have contributed to the severity of this sentence. Grebel, during an earlier sojourn there, had sown the seed, of which these were the ripened fruits. They burnt the Bible, because it said: "The letter kills." They sported with puppets; led about dancing apes tied to a string; wept childishly, and were comforted with apples, and cast off all their clothes, because they must become like little children, of whom alone was the kingdom of heaven. Yea, in the end, one of them, Leonard Schucker, desired the death of his brother, because God had commanded it. He drew his sword and struck off his head in the presence of his father and all his sisters.

Thus, at last, the fruits showed, in a more lively manner than all the learned conferences, what was to be thought of the dogmas of this sect; and yet the prisoners in Zurich still had secret friends. An opportunity was given them to escape by night, which they used, and once more spread through the canton, pretending that the Angel of the Lord had delivered them from prison, as he formerly had Paul and Silas. But now the pious jugglery came to a close. A law was passed, that whoever, belonging to the canton, would hereafter re-baptise an adult, he should be drowned without mercy. Nevertheless it was done by Blaurock and Manz, as well as by Fik and Raimann, two natives of the department of Grueningen. They were all apprehended. Blaurock, because a foreigner, was whipped with

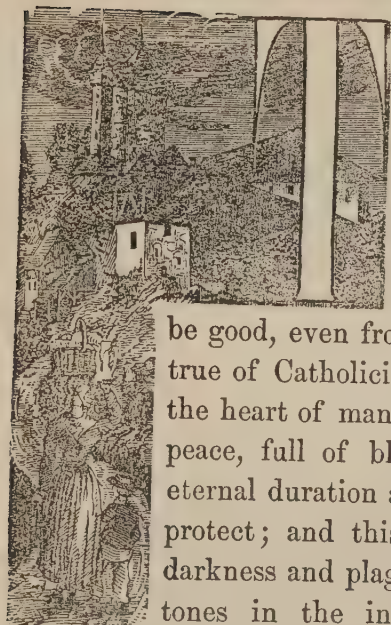
* Called in latter times among the people, The Heretic's Tower.

rods and banished from the canton ; the other three were drowned in the Limath on the 5th of January, 1525. They persevered to the last in their stubbornness, or constancy, to maintain which Manz was even encouraged by his aged mother. Their behavior left no impression on the people, who were sick of these foul doings.

The great length of the sentence delivered shows how anxious the government was to be justified in its acts, and indeed the public weal seemed, after what had gone before, to demand such an issue. Of Grebel's end no report has reached us. But to later times has been left the problem of the thorough instruction of the people, toleration in matters of faith, contempt where morals, and punishment, sore punishment, where the sanctity of the law has been invaded.

CHAPTER FIFTH.

DEFENCE OF THE OLD ORDER. RISE OF THE NEW.



O hold firmly to the existing order of things is not always proof of evil design, obstinacy or narrowness, as innovators are wont to assert; it may spring from strength of character, the experience of wisdom, and, if the existing order

be good, even from a conviction of duty. Was this true of Catholicism? Let us apply the test. In the heart of man there lies a world full of rest and peace, full of blessed love, full of confidence in eternal duration and a God of power to uphold and protect; and this gives us the victory over all the darkness and plagues of earth. It speaks in living tones in the innocent child. To children, said Christ, belongs the kingdom of heaven. With growing years, with the birth of self-consciousness guilt comes to life; earlier in this one, later in that one, but once to all. It is the inheritance of earth. The nursery, the school, personal experience, the history of the world teaches it.

In *one* alone there was no guilt to be found. How came He? How did he walk? What need anxiously to inquire, when actions speak? He did not teach from the pulpit; he wrote

nothing; He uttered isolated sentences, a few parables; He comforted; He healed; He labored only three years, and three years sufficed to shake the world and to bring peace again to the world. Who of the gray sages of Greece and Rome did so much? Well could He say, in his crown of thorns, when the judge asked him: "Art thou the King of the Jews?"—Thou sayest! And can He, who lives in the Gospel, since we have it everywhere, need a vicar on earth—a vicar on a worldly throne, in a gorgeous palace? Has no one ever blushed at the thought? Catholicism is still here, still stands erect. It must have a better foundation than a mere untenable assumption.* But where can this be found?

It lies in the power of the senses and in faith in this power. It is justified of this faith, justified again by all experience. A sound body, with the senses in full vigor, bears up and sustains the spirit also. Indeed, the world of sense, like that of the spirit, has a higher position. Its centre, its life-organ, is the heart, and this same heart is the field for all the conquests of earth. It was left for Christianity to reveal this secret.† In right relations, and if the spiritual is the leading element, the creations of art, belonging to the world of sense, are aids to Christianity. They elevate the spirit and complete the consecration of divine worship. Whenever this right relation was observed, the Catholic church grew and prospered. But two

* No one will think ill of a Protestant for believing that the Catholic church could exist in greater spiritual unity, worth and security under national bishops, primates and patriarchs, *without a Pope*.

† *For scientific readers:* But how near an approach did not the Greeks and Romans already make to it? The old proverb: *Mens sana in corpore sano*, shows a recognition of the equal position of the world of sense and the world of spirit, as well as their reciprocal necessity. This saying is likewise the key to all philosophy; the clue to reconciliation between spirit and matter, consciousness and guilt, freedom and necessity, self-determination and determination from without.

deviations from it, which the Papacy needed and used for the strengthening of its dominion, weakened and finally in the sixteenth century brought it nigh to destruction: monkery and the celibacy of the clergy. Whatever there was of good in the monasteries, derived its origin from the most ancient times, when, for example, into our own fatherland Christian men, of scientific culture, Gallus, Collomban and Siegfried, wandering hither from distant Ireland and Scotland, brought science and agriculture into regions that lay waste, at a time when the rule of Benedict, although one of the best, had not yet been introduced into the oldest monastic foundations, St. Gall and Disentis. But as soon as this was inoculated upon the life-giving stem, it gradually degenerated.* Just as little was celibacy practised by the clergy of the Catholic church before the age of Gregory VI. (Pope from 1073—1085). The priests lived like other men, members of families, and did not stand *over* the people, but *among* them and *with* them. But monasticism and celibacy rest upon the principle, that the senses are to be feared, which, like all fear, *except the fear of God*, is inwardly untrue. This principle is also unchristian. Christianity does not teach us to fear our senses, but to watch over them, use them and honor them; for "the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost." Christianity admits no death, not even that of the body—no impersonality. Only a rude, broken covering of earth remains behind. "Destroy this temple," said Christ, "and in three days I will build it up again." Hence let us take care not to lay unnatural restraint upon our bodies, lest at the same time we destroy the spirit.

* The so-called "Scottish Cloisters," to which old St. Gall especially belonged, were zealous in the culture of science. Benedict himself held it in low esteem. The peculiar monasticism, which took its rise from the fanatics of the Thebaid, was, moreover, only a reaction against the preponderance of the sensuous element in Hellenism.

But the Papacy, which strove to produce in the pastor a complete mortification and in the flock an undue excitement of the senses, engendered in the former severity and pride, in the latter laxity or stubbornness, and in this way created an unnatural separation between the priests and the people, which can not exist along with brotherly communion, as taught by the Gospel—and thus, because inwardly untrue and at war with nature, it hastened toward destruction and was already on the verge of it in the sixteenth century.* Why then did it only partially succumb? Why did it afterward again rise to greater power? Every one-sided movement is struggled against in the most active and even passionate manner by that which it opposes. Its only argument lay, therefore, in the faults of its assailants, of which it cunningly knew how to take advantage. We will now see how these faults began gradually to develope. The facts will speak for themselves.

On the watch, to spy out every weak point, the defenders of the old order followed the firm course of the courageous Reformer. Nothing could be discovered before the year 1523.

* From Pope Gregory VII., we may date especially the unnatural schism between church and state, which are not two separate elements, but spring from the same root and are filled with the same living power. From this time forward, the Hohenstaufens were obliged to fight against the church, and Adrian and Innocent made war upon the state. Afterward they strove with equal ill-success to reconcile the parts, which stood over against each other in proud independence. But is a healthy existence conceivable without religion, or an active religion without life? The state would become a philosophical abstraction; the church a deceptive mist-image. The universal church (without form) stands *over* the state; the established church (with form) *in* the state. The universal church is only visible in its fruits; the established church in its external arrangement, which it must receive from the state, or subject to its approval. The universal church is unchangeable, eternal; the established church variable, accidental.

But now came the war on images, then the burning of Ittingen, then the insurrection of the peasantry, then the passing of armed Zurichers to and from Waldshut, endangering the peace with Austria; then the Anabaptists rose from the very bosom of the new church, and lastly, Zwingli was attacked in the Great Council by the secretary Am Gruet, touching the matter of tithes, and again, a second time, in regard to the Lord's Supper—a prelude to his subsequent controversy with Luther. “Here,” cried they, “you have the fruits.” We have seen the best answer to this reproach in the triumphant victory of Zwingli over all these difficulties. Another path must be chosen. They began to learn from their antagonist.

“We will take the reformation into our hands,” said the most sensible. At a diet in Luzern, to which Zurich and Schaffhausen were not invited, a proclamation was drawn up and ratified by nine cantons, of which the following are the substantial contents: “Since, to our sorrow, it has come to pass, by the preaching, writing and teaching of Luther and Zwingli, that our ancient Christian faith is put to scorn, the ordinances of the Church despised and nothing any longer left; therefore, in order that men may not live more inclined to evil than to good, wholly abandoned, without fear and punishment for self-will; in order that no one may make a creed for his own head and understanding, and because the Chief Shepherd of the Church is silent amid our cares and perplexities, and sleeps, we Confederates have thought it necessary to take care of ourselves, and, until the time arrives when a Council will allay the discord, set forth the following articles: By no one, whether clergyman or layman, shall the XII. articles of the Christian creed be assailed; and just as little shall the Seven Sacraments, as the Church has ordained them and heretofore held them. No layman shall go to the Sacrament without confession and absolution; and no one shall receive it under two forms. No change shall be made in

the ceremonies, which, derived from the Word of God, have come down to us from the Holy Fathers and our worthy ancestors. Because the rules of fasting, based on reasonable and Christian arguments, have reached us through the Holy Fathers, we will not suffer the scandal arising from their transgression to exist amongst us. They shall be observed according to the order and pleasure of each Canton. We will suffer no reviling of the Most Holy Virgin. We believe, that She, and the other saints, by their intercession with God, can protect us and obtain for us grace. He who speaks to the contrary shall be severely punished according to the sentence of his lords. No one shall undertake to abuse, carry off, or break to pieces images, paintings and crucifixes. Whatever of church-revenues they possess, shall be guaranteed to the houses of God. And because much discord and perversity have been stirred up by the preachers, so that this may be done away and the Gospel in its true meaning preached to us and the common people, as the ancient teachers have left it behind recorded in many valuable books, it is our serious intention, that no one shall preach the Word of God, wherever we have power to rule, unless he has been first examined by his spiritual ordinary, duly admitted and duly consecrated, and has a credible certificate of this, as every priest should. No layman shall preach; no hedge-preacher shall any where be tolerated, but driven off and punished with severity. Our preachers shall also preach, teach and instruct without any covetousness and seek naught therein, but the salvation of souls and their improvement. Item, since wrong views and contradictions have been groundlessly revived by the Zwinglian or Lutheran sect, touching purgatory and prayers for the dead, in which all Christian souls, our ancestors and we ourselves have believed, we warn all true men not so wantonly to forsake our true faith for the false sayings of Luther. We wish also that no one preach, write or speak such things in our

territory. He who does so, shall be punished according to the judgment of his lords. The houses of God, cloisters, foundations and churches, shall be permitted to retain their rights and privileges; no violence shall be used against them, nor their dues kept back, or taken from them without law.

“Item, although it may be true that the Canon Law, many ordinances and statutes have been framed by the Holy Fathers, teachers, Pope and Councils with a good design, yet since this Canon Law and these statutes have been increased by degrees and made more severe; since many of them are exorbitant and have been misused against us laity, so as to cause us great injury and ruin; and since in this sad time, when the wolf has broken into the sheep-fold of Christ, the Chief Watchman and Shepherd slumbers, we deem it our duty, as civil authorities, to come to the rescue in some measure; not that we at all wish thereby to cast off our allegiance, or place ourselves in opposition to the Roman and universal Christian Church, but only for the suppression and prevention of further disasters, rebellion and the division of our Confederacy. But if by a general Christian Council or competent assembly, to which deputies are invited and are present from our Confederacy, this schism is removed and unity again restored to the Church, we will not be sundered therefrom, but act like our forefathers, as a good, pious, obedient Christian people.

“And therefore, we ordain first, that our people’s priests and pastors shall not addict themselves to avarice, as has too often been the case heretofore, namely: that they and their curates shall not keep back the Holy Sacrament from us and ours for the sake of money. Still, it is our purpose that, whatever from ancient times has been assigned in each canon to the pastor or sacristan, it shall continue to him and yield him a fair support; but if any one in the collection thereof is dealt with severely and dangerously, it shall concern the civil authority, so that the

common man be not overmatched. Item, the priests of every rank shall conduct themselves in a decent and pious manner, and set a good example to us laity, for hereafter that will not be endured from them, which has been hitherto. Every pastor shall also remain with his parishoners during the death-struggle, and minister to them and comfort them faithfully, according to the Christian rule, at the risk of losing his benefice. Since, moreover, there has been great abuse in this, that a priest has employed two or more curates to perform the duties of his parish and then taken his leave, we will suffer it no longer, and henceforth, no priest shall possess more than one parish and cure of souls, and shall live there himself. Also, no one shall make a secret agreement with another, at the peril of losing his benefice. Yet, we make this exception; a pastor may receive several livings in the foundations and monasteries, where hitherto it has been the custom and privilege not to reside therein personally, so that the excellent foundations and monasteries be not curtailed in their privileges. Item, where a young man has a benefice, or, being still under age, is too young to become a priest, he may indeed be permitted to enjoy the benefice, on condition of procuring the services of a fit and worthy priest in his stead. But, if he reaches the proper age, and does not then become a priest, or is not capable and virtuous enough for the office, he shall be deprived of the benefice.

“Item, because several priests have already ventured to take wives, it is our opinion, that no benefices should be bestowed on them, and they ought to be forbidden the exercise of their priestly office; and those persons belonging to the monastic orders, who have left their cloisters and their order, or have married, ought to be deprived of their benefices and expelled from their monasteries; still, be it reserved to each canton and each authority to deal further with them, or show mercy. Item, in regard to spiritual jurisdiction and excommunication we have

considered and ordered at this time, since matters have gone so sadly and no one has given them any attention, that no clergyman shall cite, summon, or call up a layman, and no layman a clergyman, or one of his own estate, before a spiritual tribunal, except alone in the matter of marriage, and in what concerns error and dispute about the holy sacraments, or the monasteries and churches, or the welfare of the soul, or infidelity. But in so doing, it is our opinion, if it chance in regard to marriage-affairs and other business, that we laymen might be summoned and tried before a spiritual court; still, the whole business shall not come first either before the bishops, or their officials, or commissaries, or before a spiritual judge, but before each civil authority, and then after each civil authority has investigated the matter, it shall then proceed to give judgment and explanations thereon, or else hand over the business, if they think it necessary, to the spiritual judge. All judicial proceedings before the spiritual judge, and especially at Constance, shall be transacted in German and written out in German, as the custom is in several bishoprics, so that we laity also may hear and understand what is done. Item, since between the Sunday, when the Alleluia is omitted,* and Shrove Tuesday, during which season every other person indulges in worldly pleasures, wedding festivals are forbidden to the common man, and because this prohibition is remitted for money, it is our order and opinion, that it be granted without pay. Since we and ours have been burdened with manifold Romish indulgences, it is our opinion, that from this time forth no indulgences should be granted for the sake of money, in any place or corner of our cantons. Furthermore, the Pope and bishops hold and reserve

* The seventh Sunday after the day of the Holy Three Kings, in old almanacs, is styled, "Alleluia Niederlag" from an ordinance of Alexander II., that on this day, neither the Hallelujah, nor any other song of praise durst be sung.

for themselves alone certain sins and transgressions, and hence it happens, they will not give the people absolution without the payment of a large sum, and no dispensation is granted to any one, even in a case of decent and honorable emergency, unless it be outweighed with gold—therefore, it is our opinion, that what may be brought to pass by popes and bishops for gain, shall be granted to the people and the poor common man, by every pastor without charge, notwithstanding the power of the Pope and the bishops, until it be further determined. Every canton also shall and may consult with its pastors and clergy, and devise a plan, as to how and in what form the gross abuses of the confessional may be punished. In regard to the *courtesans*, who invade our livings, it is our plain order and opinion, that where such Romish knaves come, they shall be cast into prison and punished in such a manner, as that henceforth we shall be rid of them. Because the priesthood, in some part at least, have been guilty of wicked deeds, altogether improper and indecent, which, if they had been committed by the laity, would have been punished with death; and these evil-doers, when handed over to the bishops and the superiors of their orders, have been lightly dealt with and set free, and because crime and follies increase among them, and give rise to every kind of discord and disturbance—in order that this evil may be cured, whoever perpetrates such a crime as to forfeit his life, each authority, under which such a clergyman has been seized, shall execute him for that crime, just like a layman, notwithstanding his consecration.”

“Item, because the common people have been greatly disturbed in their faith by the printers, and the books published by Luther or Zwingli and their followers, it is our will, that no one shall print or keep such books for sale in our cities, cantons and territories; and, when they are seized on a colporteur, he shall be heavily punished; and whoever has such books for sale

and takes them to a merchant, the merchant shall tear them to pieces, or throw them into the mire, and not be accountable therefor. But such works as the Old and New Testament, the Holy Gospels, the Bible and other Christian books of the twelve Apostles and Saints, their lives and doctrines, may be bought and sold. Item, whereas it is very plain that the poor common man who has been everywhere subjected to restrictions of a hard and severe character, by clerical prelates and convents, as well as by noble and plebeian judges, in their restraints on marriage, their lowering of prices, their rents and other feudal claims and privileges, and especially among our bailiwicks and dependencies, which now highly grieves and surprises us Confederates, and because, according to the terms of the federal compact no one canton can break off from the others in its rights, claims and privileges, and as in our bailiwicks collectively abuses and grievances have been very much practised against the common people, by the monasteries, nobles and judges, therefore, be it hereby resolved, that we take measures to alleviate and pass judgment therein, so that the poor common man may not be burdened by the lowering of prices, and heavy ground-rents, and so severely bound, but that favor and a remedy may be discovered. Item, in regard to the restraints on marriage, that is, when a man takes a wife, and a woman a husband, beyond the jurisdiction of his feudal lord, and the lord undertakes to punish him therefor, it is our will and ordinance, that no one be so punished, seeing that marriage is a sacrament, and every one should be free in such a case. But whoever desires a partner, and is able to pay a ransom, and procure his or her liberty, it shall not be refused, but granted for a reasonable sum of money. Should the lord be too severe, it shall be the duty of the magistrate, in every place and corner, where it occurs, to mediate therein and settle it according to equitable principles. Item, it shall be the bounden duty of every convent to hand in

to the authorities a faithful account of its revenue, outlay, possessions and all its business. Item, although the clergy have hitherto been free and exempt from all burdens and incumbrances, and have so overawed the secular authorities with the ban of excommunication, that they never dared to lay upon them taxes, fines, school-money, customs, tolls, licenses, fees and other burdens, yet as there is no foundation for this custom in the Holy Scriptures, it having been introduced among simple Christian people by spiritual laws of their own invention, so that they might not be loaded with the same burdens; therefore, it is the will and purpose of our Lords and rulers, that all priests, whether secular or belonging to the monastic orders, shall share in all these, so that the common people may continue obedient to the civil authorities, according to the Christian rule; none of them shall oppose this, and it shall also be sent everywhere in the city and canton. And, finally, we Confederates reserve the right to add to, to take from, and to alter the articles here drawn up, if, in the meantime, anything better be discovered, even as our Confederacy stands responsible toward God and the world, and may be praiseworthy, useful and honorable."

This long document, which Bullinger alone has preserved entire, we here present with slight abbreviation, because it exhibits, in a manner more lively than any description could, the position in the state then held by the church, wherever the Reformation had not yet taken deep root. Great defects were acknowledged by all the governments, and the will was at hand to apply the remedy. But points of faith must be left untouched. Hence, these were summed up in the introduction. On the contrary, no special reverence is shown for the Pope and the higher position assumed by the clergy; indeed, in several essential particulars, a decided purpose is expressed to hold them in check, and if necessary even to resist them. There is

room to conjecture, that if these articles had been carried into practice, they would have exerted a powerful influence against the Reformation, so far, perhaps, as to have confined it to Zurich, and even in the end to have suppressed it here.

But the impossibility of this soon appeared. The Great Councils of Bern, Solothurn and especially Basel durst no longer venture to enforce the general enactments against the married clergy, for the maintenance of rules of fasting and for the preservation of purgatory among the doctrines of faith, whilst on the other side, wherever they still had firm footing, the priesthood opposed all the articles, which would set limits to their greediness and love of power. Hence the general resolutions were not carried out, and only showed the more strongly the inward weakness of the Papacy.

But already, before this time, the first inconsistency, to which Zwingli himself was obliged to submit, came to the aid of his opponents. He had declared that the Gospel was able to endure any trial; that to prove the right and utter the results of his examination should be free to every one, and as he claimed this right in full measure for himself, he, for his part, denied it to no other man. Yet the State did this, and Zwingli fell in with the measure. As early as January, 1523, the following ordinance was published: "Masters Ulric Zwingli and Henry Utiger of the Canons, and Master Henry Walder and Master Binder of the Councils, are appointed to inspect everything which shall be printed in the city of Zurich, and the printer shall be informed and command given him, to undertake to print nothing without their knowledge and approval." Thus, the censorship of the press, which, till now, had only been exercised by the bishops and the Pope, was introduced by the State, by a republican state, and at a time when this state was subjecting the exclusive, established faith, to every kind of investigation. Whence this inconsistency? It did not spring

from the Reformer, but only from the unavoidable necessity of his age, in which the capability of judging had not yet penetrated the mass of the people.*

This was immediately perceived and made use of by the Papacy. Her skillful orators did not in the least blame the censorship of the press in Zurich, but thought it very judicious; but, "why then," asked they, "do you attack us for restrictions

* Concerning the relation of Zwingli to his age, the author published an article in the Swiss Monthly Chronicle for the year 1819, from which, as the periodical was confined to a narrow circle, he ventures to insert here a short extract. "The great man goes in advance of his age. His bold, firm step wins for him a host of trusting and powerful adherents. Prudence hesitates; fear trembles; and the evil will refuses to follow him. Self-interest, justly in dread of every blazing up of the truth, mingles in the drama with cunning art; a separation ensues; and he who would bring peace to all the world, has brought a sword; but still completes his work, if he suffer for it, or is so happy as to fall. By the sacrifice of himself the hero becomes a saint. Eyewitnesses of his labors, noble enough to admire him, able enough to support him, but not strong enough to take his place, guard with loving hearts his memory and his words; the solitary staff for a race, which had the desire, but not the requisite maturity, to take into itself the entire spirit of the illustrious dead. More and more was the letter now anxiously guarded, and in it the living, creative spirit was securely and faithfully handed down to a more enlightened age. And this age was first able to understand the great man fully, to prize his services and value his doctrine. It is surprising that centuries ago any one should think, as it delights in thinking; it honors the noble of former times as its spiritual kindred; but let it beware of pride, for if he were to rise again amid the means, the experience, the knowledge of this age, he would soon hasten in advance of it also, as they ever do, who regard not that, which one generation of men style truth, but the eternal fundamental truth of all ages; who have not pious feeling alone—not wisdom alone; to whom alone it is revealed, by whose earnest and constant endeavor it is attained, to be wise and good at the same time."

and watchfulness, when you yourselves cannot do without them? To-day you declare faith shall be free, that it can sustain any trial, and to-morrow suppress the writings of those who will not prove it in your way. Truly, like us, you need an authoritative creed. Only with us the old Church gives the command, with you the new Zwingli. This is very far from being a sufficient reason to induce us to go over to your party." What adequate reply can be made? In fact the time had not yet come, when the Reformation could stand by its own strength; the distinguished man alone sustained it. In this, lies the reason why Zwingli was indispensable to Zurich—in this the secret of his power in the State as well as the Church.

Also aware of this, the defenders of the Old Order were more and more convinced, that its maintenance or new establishment in the Confederacy, could only become possible, if they succeeded in putting Zwingli to silence, and for the attainment of this end they mustered all their powers. Hence, an offer from Doctor Eck, of Ingolstadt, known through his earlier famous disputation with Luther, and mentioned before in the beginning of this work, to come personally to Switzerland and do battle with the Reformer, was very welcome to the leaders of this party. As soon as Zwingli heard of it, he wrote to this champion and invited him to Zurich: here he could attack him and point out to his hearers, who needed it most, the errors of their teacher. "It is time," he concludes, "for me to leave off, if I have been a false prophet. But rather would I find out a way, if there be time, to prevent thee from deceiving the poor people with thy imposture. May God have pity on thee, take away thy stony heart and give thee one so warm, that one can write to thee with joy!" The Council of Zurich also sent an invitation to Eck, along with a letter of safe-conduct, pledging him a safe passage through the canton, coming and going. Eck declined it with the remark, that he must appear wherever the diet

would appoint. The latter, after manifold negotiations with the bishops, after a final weighing of the different views of the governments themselves, resolved, in March of the year 1526, to accept the offer of Eck, to whom the vicar general Faber had joined himself, and assemble a religious conference at Baden, in the middle of October. To these preparatory consultations and to the sessions of the diet Zurich had not been invited for a long time. In vain had she complained of it. But now she received a cold letter, almost hostile in its tone, from her sister-confederates, of which the following are the essential contents: "It cannot be concealed from you, that for a good while there has been much talk of a disputation. Transactions of this sort have not at all been displeasing and repugnant to your feelings heretofore. Well! Now we are to act for a final restoration of peace. Require Zwingli and his associates to appear here along with your deputies, and thus show yourselves as those, who would willingly suffer discord, ill-will and disturbance to be put away, and themselves be taught what is better." It is easy to imagine, that, on such an invitation, Zurich found the matter worthy of more mature consideration before she could accept.

The government had undoubtedly begun and proceeded, without heeding the frequent prayers and warnings of her Confederates, in a thorough work of reformation within the limits of her own canton; beyond these she had neither exercised, nor sought to exercise, a direct ecclesiastical influence. What she had done, was in strict accordance with her rights; no law of the Confederation had been violated by her. And yet the confederates continued to assume more and more the attitude of judges over her. When the deputies from the Zurich Council appeared in the midst of the diet, at the close of the discussion in regard to the conference at Baden, they were excluded, called in again, if they thought fit to come, not asked

for their opinion, and simply informed of what had been determined without their assistance, and what they were now expected to carry into execution. In the same form, a knowledge of these decrees was a second time communicated to the government. The doctrines of Zwingli were styled heretical beforehand, and he was charged with being the author of sedition; then it was resolved: "It is not our will that any changes be made in the faith, and, as dutiful members, we have no thought of sundering ourselves from the Holy Church; but in order that Zwingli may be obliged to leave off his seditious teachings in our Confederacy, and the common people in some measure redeemed from error and rendered peaceful, we make arrangements for the disputation."

After such a declaration, what was the part demanded of the free state of Zurich? That she should appear in the circle of her confederate sisters in the attitude of a poor sinner; take back whatever she had established after mature trial; seize the Reformer and arraign him before an inquisition, by which he had already been prejudged as a heretic. And then what anxiety, what memories connected themselves with Baden, the place of the conference! It stood in close dependence on the most embittered cantons. The majority of its own citizens were hostile to the Reformation. Here, a short time before, the blood of the men of Stammheim and Burkhard Ruetiman had been shed by an unrighteous sentence, out of mere religious hatred and in violation of pledges; from thence, the same year, Nicolas Hottinger, of whom we have already spoken, had been delivered up to Luzern, to fall by the sword, in spite of all the intercessions of the Zurich government. The principles of the Romish Church in regard to those, whom she esteemed heretics, were well known. It had been openly declared by several, and believed by many, that they were not bound to keep faith with such persons. Just about this time, (December 11, A. D.

1525), Pope Clement VII., to whom the Zurichers had sent the Secretary Am Gruet, to collect the arrears due for military services, wrote thus: "If you do not forsake your new, ungodly errors, how can you expect us to satisfy these claims, lawful as they may be, without going counter to righteousness and the fear of God, since that cannot be justly allowed to heretics, which they have inherited from their forefathers?" In Freiburg, Zwingli's writings were burnt, and his effigy in Luzern. Several states had given orders to seize him, wherever he could be found. His brother-in-law, Leonard Tremp, wrote to him from Bern: "As you value your life, take care you go not to Baden; for no safe-conduct will be observed in your case; that I know." Can the government of Zurich be blamed for not wantonly exposing the man, in whose existence the entire development of its political and religious life was closely bound up?

And yet, when we see how the Messiah, whose Gospel the Reformer proclaimed, delivered himself up to the unjust judges; when we read his declaration: "Whoso loveth his life shall lose it;" when we hear Martin Luther say, as he began his journey to Worms: "And, if there were as many devils there, as tiles on the houses, I will yet go," and see him step forth courageously before the wrathful monarch and the empire;—indeed we might almost wish that Zwingli had not declined the challenge to battle, nor given his enemies occasion to triumph, and cry out to all the world that he did not dare to defend his own cause. *Æcolampadius*, who, sent by his government, had appeared there with unflinching courage, wrote to him from Baden: "Elsewhere than here, on the field of battle, we cannot meet these our opponents with befitting energy. Mere writing is not sufficient. Thou wilt expose thyself to danger, as is the case with us all. Yet perhaps thou knowest more than I. Do as thou thinkest best for the Gospel of Christ, to whom our life, as much or as little of it as still remains, alone belongs."

Not for one moment did Zwingli falter in the path, which he had marked out for himself. Though his faith continued firm and strong till the hour of his death, still there lay also in his character a spirit of worldly prudence, which rendered intolerable the thought of becoming a sacrifice to the craft of his opponents, who, instead of honoring his courage, would rather perhaps have laughed at him as a credulous dupe, in their joy over the success of their unworthy plan. The author of this work will neither justify, nor blame him on this account. His duty is, to present a faithful picture of the great man, leaving the reader to form his own judgment. But let us hear a few passages touching this point, from a long letter of his to the government of Bern, which had urged Zurich to accept the invitation to take part in the Conference: "I beseech you, wise and pious Lords, in the most pressing manner, to have my answer to your letter, which was sent to my Lords, but had reference to myself, read aloud and weighed with earnest and mature consideration; for I am not all opposed to, but in favor of a disputation. It is only the place that I cannot abide, and these are my reasons: No place stands open to me, since the cantons of Luzern, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden and Zug have the supremacy; for the aforementioned cantons have called me a heretic, summoned me to appear before them, rejected my doctrines, burnt my books and reviled me without any hearing whatever. It is a manifest pre-judgment. They themselves confess, that the disputation was only planned, in order to silence Zwingli. This is also a pre-judgment. As the aforementioned cantons have commanded me to be taken prisoner, how could I trust their safe-conduct? In the safe-conduct itself there is a proviso, that every one must behave agreeably to that safe-conduct; a common article where there is no danger; but it would not be enough for me at Baden; for just as soon as I would say: "The Pope is Antichrist"—just so soon would they

cry out against me, that I had forfeited my safe-conduct. Then, the Five Cantons, along with *Faber and Eck*, have made arrangements beforehand, behind our backs, in regard to the disputation, which ought to be impartial; and they have permitted the most scandalous writings of *Faber and Eck* against me to be sold freely, nay, to be hawked about at the Diet, whilst they would neither hear nor look at my answers. For these and other reasons, I would give a friendly caution to my gracious, loving Lords, to believe no one, who pretends that I wish to avoid the disputation. I do not; but only the place. Besides, there are three most excellent articles altogether omitted in the safe-conduct, viz: that the Bible alone should be the source and ground of argument; that no judge should be placed over God's Word; and finally, that the controversy should be carried on freely, and without interruption, on all points in dispute. But, indeed, there is no need to speak of safe-conduct or articles, whilst they will hold the disputation at Baden. I will not *baden* (bathe)."

Æcolampadius now headed the Reformed party at the Conference, in Zwingli's stead. Berchthold Haller, preacher at Bern, joined him. They two, and several others of like mind, kept up the battle for sixteen days, against Eck, Faber, the not unlearned but extremely passionate Doctor Murner of Strassburg, preacher at Luzern, and their friends, who were present in great numbers. Meanwhile Zwingli was not idle. Every evening a report of the proceedings was brought to him from Baden, for inspection, counsel and advice. According to his own statement, he did not see his bed for nearly three weeks. Æcolampadius and his friends had to contend with no despicable antagonists, in the presence of hearers, the majority of whom were prejudiced against them. And the difficulty was increased by the fact that Eck and Faber, to whom it was assigned to draw up theses for dispute, cunningly enough passed over the perplexing points touching the Church, the power of

the Pope, the celibacy of the clergy, the rules of fasting and the like, but pushed into the foreground, on the contrary, as the most important, those touching the Mass, because they could assail the view of Zwingli and Œcolampadius on the Lord's Supper in part with Luther's own arguments. A letter from Erasmus against this view also came to their aid, which was, according to a report, extant in the university of Paris, read at Baden with great applause, and did the more injury to the Reformers, the higher the opinion of Erasmus was prized by liberal theologians.

Amid all this, Œcolampadius knew how to keep his ground manfully. His quiet demeanor and moderation served him no less than his learning, in which he was scarcely inferior to Zwingli himself. One of the Catholic party is said to have cried out, whilst he was speaking: "O if the long, yellow man were only on our side!" His external appearance, as, clad in simple clothing, he appeared in a rough-hewn, unadorned pulpit, was only the more dignified in contrast with the richly carved throne on which Eck, Faber and their distinguished friends sat in silken robes, puffed up, and hung around with golden chains and crosses. At the close of the Conference, the latter declared the victory theirs. This decision was likewise ratified by the four presidents, the majority of the deputies of the Diet and by far the greater number of the attendant scholars and clergymen. Only ten of the latter came out, over their own signatures, in favor of Œcolampadius, and with him against the justness of the theses put forth by Eck and Faber. Berchthold Haller, along with several others, retired before the termination of the Conference. Before the assembly broke up, Thomas Murner appeared, by permission of the presidents, and read aloud forty propositions, which he had posted up as the errors and blasphemous assertions of Zwingli, on the church-doors at Baden, and declared himself ready publicly to prove as such against him; but since

the challenged party had staid away in a cowardly fashion, he could, in accordance with all law, human and divine, proclaim him, this tyrant of Zurich, and his followers, dishonorable, perjured, sacrilegious and God-forsaken people, of whose company every honest man ought to be ashamed, and shun them as persons unclean and ripe for damnation. Zurich had to endure this, which was reported to her, and a haughty letter from the deputies of the Twelve Cantons besides. Much was said in it about Zwingli's lies; he was accused of ridiculing the Confederates, of making seditious speeches, and of a never-ceasing hostility. They were now tired of this disorder, and if the government of Zurich would not banish the everlasting disturber, they then would be compelled to make known to their subjects in city and canton the injury they suffered,—to appear before the bailiwicks, so that the honest people might become acquainted, not with Zwingli's little book and slanderous invectives alone, but the reply of their Confederates also. What would come out of this, the Council of Zurich might consider in their wisdom.

Meanwhile, the tidings, that a victory was gained, spread on all sides. "We thank the Most High"—wrote the deputies of the Twelve Cantons from Baden to Duke William of Bavaria—"that Your Princely Grace sent over to us the highly-renowned Doctor Eck; for truly he has defended, *according to the Holy Divine Scriptures*, his Christian theses—the chief points, which the Lutheran or Zwinglian deluding, heretical sect have ventured to assail and pervert—so bravely and with such skill, that undoubtedly good will come of it; and it will be admitted by every sensible man, possessed of a good conscience, that truth and victory are on our side—with our old, undoubted Christian faith." Reports of the triumph of the Catholics reached Zwingli from his friends also. Comander, pastor in Chur, told him of letters received there, and of the alarm of all

the friends of reform. George Mangolt wrote from Constance: "Every day letters arrive here from Baden. O how the Papists rejoice! They say that *Æcolampadius* is overthrown; that he has been vanquished in three points already, and will be completely so in a few days; that he is like a child—as soon as he is laid hold of with a little more earnestness than usual he begins to tremble, yea, even to weep." Indeed, great hopes were built on the issue of the Conference by all the friends of the Old Order. Zurich appeared to stand alone, deserted by all her sister-confederates. Berchthold Haller was intimidated; *Æcolampadius*, though he did not yield, looked into a dark future, for he could number as many enemies as friends in Basel. Under these circumstances, everything depended on Zurich, and especially the firmness of Zwingli.

After taking earnest counsel, it was resolved to send the following declaration to all the Twelve Cantons: "We have examined your letter touching ourselves and our preachers, and are filled with great surprise, grief and regret. We and our preachers are attacked therein with haughty, sharp and violent words, although in our own opinion we are innocent. We had indeed thought that the many things, which he and we have sent to you from pen and press, would have been honorably considered and well received by you and your advisers. Nevertheless, Master Ulric will vindicate himself. But to you, dear Confederates, because you desire an answer from us at the next Annual Reckoning, we send what follows: We have violated no treaty, given ear only to the Divine Word, and invited any one to prove us in error. No one has come to do this. It is well known how we have been excluded from the Diet, and how, without consulting us and in the face of our protest, the Conference was transferred to Baden. You ask us to prohibit Master Ulric Zwingli from publishing books and writings against you, because it is contrary to our treaties, and yet it is

clear to you and all men, that Doctor Eck and Faber, and their adherents, have issued sundry little books and writings for the dishonor, shame and derision of us and our preachers, which were carried, sent over and circulated at the Diet, and in many other places, far and near, with boastful pomp and rejoicing, and have been read and listened to with evident relish; and truly it ought and must deeply pain and grieve us, as pious, honest, faithful Confederates, that such strange, foreign, slanderous and wicked people, who, beyond doubt, wish not only to lessen and obstruct the profit, honor, piety and welfare of our glorious Confederacy, but according to their race and nation, under a false show of good, to obliterate and utterly destroy it, should receive almost more respect, confidence and esteem than we. And yet, God knows, we have never had any higher wish than to live on friendly terms with you, our dear Confederates, and assist in all things, which might serve to the praise, profit, honor and welfare of the United Confederacy; and as formerly, in the pressure of war and other secular affairs, we faithfully pledged to you our persons, honor and property, like good, honest Confederates, and poured out our blood, so would we now do, without looking back, as our pious forefathers, when our country calls for it. If then, you had written, that you wished to appear before our congregations, we indeed would have made no objections; but since it is contrary to treaties and old, praiseworthy custom and usage to do so without our consent, we hope you will follow them. If complaints only were to be made, truly we would have more reason to urge them than you. What hard and unbecoming speeches are not we and ours compelled to hear, when we meet you and yours in market-places, for buying and selling! And did not that foreign monk, Doctor Murner of Luzern, for the first time, at this Diet, publish against us a little book, full of scandal and lies, and go to the furthest lengths of malice, when out of an envenomed, envious heart, he

defamed and abused us and ours in the highest degree, in the presence of natives and foreigners, after the disputation held at Badën, and all with such knavery, that, amid many pious, honest men, who heard him, there was little displeasure, and yet no one called him to order? Indeed it were much better if we sought to put away such people, who bring no honor or profit to either party. Heretofore matters proceeded very differently at the Diet, when we conversed together about that which might promote the honor, the happiness and the welfare of our Confederacy, and lived in old friendship, brotherly fidelity and love."

The answer of Zwingli, who was the most aggrieved, was thought to be more rude and independent: "That I"—he wrote—"have reviled the Twelve Cantons, is, honorable Lords, unjustly charged against me; but that I would expose the practices of Faber, who can justly blame me for that? Faber himself could not stand, if he would visit me in the place, where we have pledged sufficient security to Eck and him. That more words of scandalous abuse stick in me than words of Holy Writ and truth, I must allow you to say. You, the Five Cantons, have proclaimed me a heretic before all the conferences or disputations, which cannot be made out, though I should not stand up to answer you. If there be real, genuine desire to learn the Word of God in truth, we must not attempt it with *courtesans*, the whole Papacy and such dishonest people, who like Eck have spoken so scandalously in regard to an estimable Confederacy. That I have often been blamed by you for lying, falsehood and deceit, I must likewise commend to God. But I do indeed think, if this letter of your deputies were read at home before the Twelve Cantons, the smaller number would be pleased with it. Pardon me, dear Lords, I also know in part how things went at the Diet."

"Since then, it is your opinion, that my Lords ought to thrust me aside and the like, I tell you, they are too pious for

that; because they know well that you first assailed me and so often, that I was obliged on their account to write, for the preservation of God's Word, their honor and my own. It seems to me, that your faith is but ill kept toward my Lords and me; (forgive me, gracious Lords) though heretical opinions are tolerated in the pulpits of several cantons, I must keep silence in mine, and their honest people, when they do business among you, are often and disgracefully abused, and there is no punishment or redress."

"Finally, you say, if my Lords do not cast me off, you will take occasion to make known at Zurich, before the city and the canton, what you have suffered from them and me; to which I answer: If the Articles of Confederation would permit, I would be willing that you, my Lords, and I should freely explain how matters have been going, not only before the communities of my Lords, but before all the people of the entire Confederacy. But since this may not be, do you keep to the Articles of Confederation and your own communities, and leave the communities of my Lords in peace; for if you were to come before them, there is no doubt they would give you in their simplicity, in all honor and fairness, as good and earnest answers as my Lords themselves. In regard to these things, gracious Lords, O that for God's sake you were willing to go into yourselves and not always act in a passion!"

Of course, language of this kind was not just calculated to calm the minds of his opponents, and could not but wound deeply the pride of the Five Cantons, who were implacable enough without it. It appeared the more intolerable to them, because they regarded themselves as conquerors, yea if they could only agree, in a certain measure, the second authors and founders of the Old Confederacy, that held fast to the faith and customs of their ancestors. Nearly all the Confederate deputies in Baden happened to belong also to the friends of the Old Order,

and particularly the ambassador from Bern, Caspar von Muelinen. Their agreement in opinion gave assurance to the cantons, who now undertook to publish the acts of the disputation. It is probable that this was not done without the consent of the remaining deputies, with the exception perhaps of Adelberg Meier. Leaving Basel out of view, in Bern, Glarus, Schaffhausen, Appenzell and partly even in Solothurn, the confidence in the Five Cantons was not so strong as among the deputies of these states at the Diet, and when they brought home a report of the proceedings in Baden, a very decided feeling was manifested among the councils and people. Our attention must now be directed chiefly to Basel and Bern.

In Basel, the higher classes, with but few exceptions, were unfavorable to the Reformation. The bishop and the chapter of the Cathedral exercised considerable influence. The university also, in the greater part of its members, was not the least inclined to the new dogmas and forms. *Æcolampadius*, who, a short time before, had become a professor there, stood nearly isolated among his colleagues, especially since Pellican (*Conrad Kuersner*), former teacher of the Hebrew language, his tried friend and companion in the faith, had accepted a call to Zurich. *Erasmus*, startled from his proud and comfortable ease—summoned from his student's chamber, whence he was accustomed to lord it over the learned world, to conflicts before turbulent assemblies of the people, began to exhibit more and more dislike toward this revolutionary agitation. When he met *Æcolampadius*, to whom he had before shown much good-will, on the street, he turned away from him with an aversion, which he did not strive to conceal. It is true, he disdained also to take part in the dark doings of the monks, those heresy-hunters of the Roman See; but appears to have seen, not without pleasure, the quarrel, then already rising between the Reformers themselves, touching the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and used it so, as to decide in

favor of no party, read lectures to all, and maintain as long as possible his former superior position over against them. His correspondence, indeed, all his connection with Zwingli had ceased. But the latter had to experience something still more severe in the behavior of Glareanus, the first and warmest friend of his youth. As late as the first Religious Conference in Zurich he had expressed to Zwingli his joy and approval of the result, and for a time took his part with Erasmus. Now he turned away from the Reformers more decidedly than the old theologian himself, became more and more violent in his enmity to them and their cause, and like Erasmus, though two months earlier, left Basel, which had become hateful to him, in order to settle as an academical teacher in the still Catholic university at Freiburg, in the Breisgau.* In the Small Council there was

* It may not be uninteresting to many readers to learn something of the after fate of this man, who occupies so prominent a place in the foregoing history. His last letter to Zwingli, as far as known, is dated February 14th, 1523, and his last to Myconius, September 4th, 1524. In these already he complains of the restless agitation in Basel, rising up in hostility to every more moderate view: "It is my conviction," he writes, "that at present obstacles are thrown in the way of the sciences as well as of the Gospel, by none more than by those who made us believe, they would have swallowed both. Yet one durst not complain aloud; for that old, 'Leave me my Christ untouched,' has lately become a litany among them.'" Now more than ever his life was devoted to the study of Grecian and especially Roman antiquity; for theology and church history he never had any great affection. In the beginnings of the Reformation he looked chiefly at the victory of science, the revival of the study of the languages, the need of a more thorough investigation of the classical ages, and was, therefore, favorable to it. But as soon as this Reformation ventured forth from the narrow circles of the academical lecture-room, the student's chamber and the polite world, to move in which had become a matter of necessity to him, upon the theatre of public life, and appeared under democratic forms; as soon as unlearned advocates for it rose up beside the educated and strove for approval and influence with the people, wound-

a minority, few in numbers, with Adelberg Meier at their head, in favor of reform; in the Great Council the number

ing his refined taste by their rude manners and their rough language, he began to grow uneasy. He feared directly the opposite of what he had first hoped for, the final overthrow of all thorough scientific culture. Of the great transformation wrought in the life of the church and the people, with its beneficial results for religion and politics, he had no sense, because he never traveled beyond his Roman and Grecian studies. The bitterness of his feelings found vent in subtle and sometimes malicious scorn. Even in presence of his scholars and house-companions, whose number, as he always kept a boarding house, was seldom under twenty, he allowed himself to call *Æcolampadius* "*Æcodiabolos*" (House-devil), or "*Schlampadius*." It can readily be imagined that when this became known it created a dislike toward him among his former admirers, and especially among the young. He received an unequivocal proof of it, when passing through Zurich. Having arrived there with wet garments, he asked his host for the loan of a dry coat that he might walk out. The latter assured him, perhaps maliciously, that he had only a yellow one to spare, which he durst not offer him. In spite of the strange color Glareanus put it on; but scarcely had he appeared on the street, when he saw himself surrounded by a troop of mocking school-boys, to whom he had probably been betrayed. "Ay! ay! Glareanus, how you are tricked out! We must learn your verses," and similar things were shouted in his ears. On his return, the landlord met him with the words: "Out of the mouths of children and sucklings hast thou prepared praise for thyself." His opinion of the age became more and more gloomy. His secret grudge against it is particularly visible in his letter to *Ægidius Tschudi*, who, like him, had remained true to the Catholic confession. "The young men of the present day," he wrote in 1550, "resemble those of Sodom and Gomorrah. Drunkenness, perfidy, ungodliness, dishonoring of the holy have overpowered all their natures. Never was the world so corrupt as now." And yet, at that very time, he had often so many hearers in Freiburg, that, instead of the usual lecture-room the *Aula* (the hall for examinations and celebrations) had to be given up to him. He continued to exercise his chosen calling with unwearied activity, until he closed his eventful life in the seventy-fourth year of his age. It is remarkable that, notwithstanding his

was larger, but also a minority. Among the burghers, on the other hand, the party of *Æcolampadius* increased daily. To this, his behavior at Baden, which drew praises even from his opponents, contributed no little. The fluctuating opinions, in regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, had caused him, previous to the Conference at Baden, to make known his view on the subject in a special work. The Council forbade its publication, because nothing so stirred up the passions of men like this. But now, since the matter had been publicly handled by him, in the Religious Conference, there was no longer any reason to keep it back from the press. Sent forth by one of the most famous professors in the University, contradicted by none of his colleagues,* it came to be looked upon in a certain measure as a confession of faith on the part of the faculty. At the same time, also, *Æcolampadius*, to the great annoyance of his adversaries, succeeded in obtaining the introduction of church-singing in German; for the government, in accordance with the feeble advice of Erasmus, in answer to the question as to how it should act amid the zeal for innovation breaking out on all sides, adopted vacillating measures; to-day it suffered the departure of individual monks and nuns from their cloisters; to-morrow, in order to make such cases less frequent, it denied the rights of citizenship to those who had gone out, and rendered the practice of any worldly calling difficult; now it ratified episcopal laws, and then arbitrarily abolished festival-days; in one church it supported the celebration of the mass, in another allowed it to be abolished, so that

dislike to the Reformation, the General Inquisition at Madrid, as late as the year 1667, included him among "the authors of cursed memory, whose works, published or yet to be published, are forbidden without exception."

* The polemical treatise of Erasmus on this same subject appeared earlier; besides, Erasmus was not actually a teacher in the University.

Basel was as good as given up by the Five Cantons. They refused the Council there permission to examine the acts of the Religious Conference at Baden before their publication, and on the 13th of July, 1526, resolved, in connection with Freiburg and Solothurn, to keep the oath of confederation as little with Basel as with Zurich and St. Gall.

So determined were the Five Cantons, especially since the Conference at Baden, only to acknowledge in the future those of their Confederate-sisters as such, who would adhere along with them to the former doctrines of the church. What authority they arrogated to themselves in this respect over the others, is plainly visible in their behavior toward Bern. Notwithstanding her repeated requests, the acts of the Baden Conference were not communicated to her; her conduct was subjected to severe censure, and it was resolved to send thither a delegation to confirm the alliance by an oath; but only after the Great Council and the consulting deputies of the districts had declared solemnly beforehand, that Bern would not desert the Five Cantons in matters of faith, yea, would even recall her former grant in favor of the free interpretation of the Scriptures. Indeed, she was obliged to draw up a sealed declaration to this effect. But with that even the Five Cantons were not satisfied. "A command"—so it is enjoined in the letters of their Conference at Luzern—"shall be given to our envoys at the swearing of the treaty as to what more shall be said to our Confederates at Bern, *which they shall indeed hear.*" What this may have been will become intelligible to us, when we have taken a nearer view of the religious and political condition of Bern, as it then was.

From the earliest period of the Confederacy down, a mutual friendship had existed between Bern and Zurich. In the old wars against Zurich, when all the Confederates appeared in hostile array against her, Bern had stood out for a long time;

and at great sacrifice, had endeavored to bring about a reconciliation, and was the first to reach out again the hand of peace. She thankfully acknowledged the true help, which Zurich had afforded her in the Burgundian wars. Not seldom was she solicited to act as mediator, in disputes, which Zurich had with her own subjects, and always discharged her commission with kindness and honor. In the quarrels also with other states, arising in consequence of the reforms in Zurich, she took no part in the hostile measures contrived against her, and the insults offered to her ambassadors; on the contrary, did all she could to preserve peace. But a short time before the Conference at Baden, she had publicly declared: "Though our dear Confederates of Zurich should not be willing to accept the proposals of compromise drawn up by us, we have still unanimously resolved neither to separate from them nor from our other allies, but faithfully to adhere to all sworn treaties." This was the disposition of the canton; this the policy of the government, which, among all the Swiss states, was the least inclined perhaps to enter into religious polemics and ecclesiastical movements. Political and warlike interests prevailed with it; with the people, those of a material nature. Become wealthy by agriculture, rejoicing in ease and prosperity, they felt little need of subjecting their faith to trial, and had just as little occasion to defend it at any great sacrifice. In spiritual matters they stuck to their leaders, whose contrary views, especially since the Conference at Baden, began to show a bolder antagonism. And yet it was rather the external form than the inward substance, which they regarded; the usages of the church, rather than the dogmas, which they assailed; the dominion rather than the teachings of the priests, against which they rose up. The mode of conflict was also different. Teachers were closely watched; great caution enjoined on the preachers; attacks on points of faith not suffered either in the

pulpit or in disputations; and yet, on the other hand, fully as much freedom of speech prevailed in private life as in Zurich: the nuns of gentle birth in Kœnigsfeld left their convent and married without hindrance, and even the head of the priestly order, Provost Nicholas von Wattenweil, had taken to wife Clara Mai, a Dominican sister of the Convent in the Island. Amid storms of applause, the Banneret Manuel had allowed a play to be performed publicly in the Street of the Cross by a young burgher, in which the church authorities, the cardinals, the traffic of indulgences and various ceremonies were held up to ridicule. The powers then ruling had no special esteem for the Pope, and would not tolerate the supremacy of any bishops, but just as little also the commanding influence of a reformer.

Such a state of things could not last long in any case, but the very means, by which the Five Cantons hoped to prevent the breach, led directly to it. These were their assumptions of guardianship; their legations; their letters and strictures on every ordinance of the Council in Bern, which they did not like; the conduct of their envoys at the swearing of the treaty in that place; their request that the deputies of Zurich sent for this purpose might not be admitted to witness the ceremony; their private conferences, to which Bern also was not invited; their incessant appeals to that sealed promise, which had been extorted only under the protests of many and to the dissatisfaction of a large portion of the people, and lastly, their threats to appear before the Bernese districts. Yet it was Thomas Murner, who finally brought the matter to an issue. If Eck and Faber were undoubtedly fitted by their noble external appearance—their scientific and wordly training, to gain influence among the higher classes, so was the barefooted monk not less the man, to work upon the multitude: to inspire some with enthusiasm and rouse up others to anger. We have seen with what dogmatical, cunning and rude language he assailed,

at Baden, not only Zwingli, but the Zurichers, and all the adherents of the Reformer, to the great displeasure of many, especially the Bernese. The publication of the Acts of the Disputation was now committed to this man, by the government at Luzern. In compliance with truth, it must be said, that he was guilty of no falsification; for the printed copy agrees accurately with the manuscripts of the four secretaries, which are still extant; but they would not believe this in Basel or Bern, without comparing the documents, on account of the violent assertions contained in other writings which he then published. Among these, everything else was eclipsed by the so-called Libel Almanac, whose appearance, with its vulgar wit, its coarse language and its blood-thirsty spirit, was demanded by party-hatred. The almanac of the Zurichers gave rise to its publication, because they had omitted the names of the saints. Instead of these, those of the Reformers and their most prominent adherents were now introduced under opprobrious epithets, with printed caricatures alongside. It was issued in Luzern—under the eyes of the government—and widely circulated. And as the preachers and other respectable men of Bern were not spared in it, the government demanded satisfaction—indeed united with that of Zurich for this purpose. These two states were thus drawn nearer and nearer together. The former appeared at the conferences instituted by the latter in opposition to those of the Five Cantons, and when, on Easter Tuesday of the year 1527, the election for the Councils arrived, the friends of reform carried the day by a decisive victory. Some of the most violent of their opponents were ousted from both Councils, and several others, among whom was Caspar von Muelinen, before mentioned as deputy at Baden, were obliged to go back from the Small to the Great Council; but the question was put to all the districts of the Canton, whether, in order to please the Five Cantons, they would adhere to that forced resolution to

alter nothing in matters of religion, which would only lead to difficulty, and since it had been published, had produced nothing but hate and discord? The number of persons in city and canton, who were decidedly in favor of it, was small, and hence the ordinance was issued by both Councils, that the free preaching of the Gospel should be restored, exercised and protected, but that no changes should be allowed in the use of the sacraments and churchly customs, except by general consent and approbation.

But whilst these things were taking place in Bern, another storm was brewing among the enemies of the Reformation at Zurich. Notwithstanding all that had gone before, some were still found here, who secretly drew pensions, and these in unison with the discontented clergy, formed a dangerous party, whose hopes were newly revived by the result of the Conference in Baden. To them Zwingli's opponents in the other cantons silently turned, and the Reformer was threatened with a new battle. Let us hear his own description of it, in a letter to his friends in Basel and Strassburg: "For some time back, a great deal of movement, a bustling and joyful assembling has been observed in the troop of our Catilinarians,* as soon as the cause of the Gospel met with any difficulty in the way. It was clear as sunlight that these people would attempt the same thing, as those whose infamous deeds cannot be unknown to you, who have read the writings of Cicero and Sallust. I confess, that, when their speeches and actions more and more plainly betrayed their plans hitherto concealed, I, on my part, began to sound the alarm of treason. I succeeded also, in spite of the boldness and hypocrisy with which they came out against me,

* Adherents of Catiline, a Roman, whose criminal tampering with the dregs of the people, whose attempt at their head to revolutionize Rome, and whose defeat by Cicero, the consul then in power, are pictured in a graphic manner by the historian Sallust.

in intimidating their fortress, in undermining their walls. They believed that they had been unobserved. I gave them to understand that this was not the case, and that I myself could perhaps make a disclosure. It happened thus. I found myself, without their knowledge, in possession of a certain letter, and had gleaned besides something here and there. Hereupon the better portion of the people, who desired to put an end to intrigues, succeeded so far that a dictatorship was instituted, not indeed after the fashion of the Romans, in the person of a single individual, but a commission of twelve men, who received authority to apprehend and try. The investigation begins. Much comes to light, some things important and some not. Now, Grebel, the father of Conrad, the leader of the Anabaptists, is beheaded. He, who stood in the highest consideration amongst us, had received from the Emperor, the King of France and the Pope more than 1000 gold-florins under pretence of benefits bestowed on his son. Several escaped, for the gates were negligently guarded; one on a cart, concealed under a load of rubbish and dung. Another, a hunch-backed man, was put to the rack. The dictatorship and investigation still continue. As for me, I exhort some to take example from such a result, and others to aid in rooting up the evil."

The hatred of the defeated party, their friends and their followers, may easily be imagined. But for once there was no prospect of a speedy revenge. Several attempts on their behalf were made in the canton without success. To Buelach, where something had been undertaken in favor of the criminals, the government wrote: "We hear that you venture to hold meetings on account of the punishments we have inflicted on the disobedient and invite others thither. This sounds badly in face of your solemn pledges, to give the go-by to all foreign lords. Cease from such intrigues, or we will take the

matter in hand for you with such earnestness and boldness, that, with the help of God, we will become your masters, and not you ours." Respect for the Reformer grew; his influence began to spread widely, even, beyond the limits of the canton.

After the narration of these events, we turn back again to the affairs of Bern. The power of this state, the ideas, which were entertained of the sagacity of its rulers, made it evident, that, just as the case was decided here, so would it be in a good portion of the Confederacy. And now, within the walls of Bern, Zurich and the Five Cantons had to fight their next battle. They did it first by embassies; but whilst the Zurichers deported themselves with modesty, the Five Cantons used rough, domineering language, which found no approval even from those, who otherwise were not well inclined toward the Reformation. But the Bernese felt more and more sensibly the inconvenience arising from the discord, which passed over from the sphere of religion into that of their politics. Both parties longed for a decision. The proposal to hold a religious conference of their own, met with growing favor. Both parties counted on victory. The opponents of the Reformation grounded their hopes on the issue of the Conference at Baden, and on the aid promised them by Conrad Treger of Freiburg, Provincial of the Augustines, who had some reputation for learning. Haller and his friends turned their eyes to Zwingli. They did not rest until the Council, which at first intended to restrict the invitation to the Conference to narrower limits, had extended it to the whole Confederacy. In the most anxious letters Haller entreated the Reformer not to remain away. He sent the theses drawn up by him and his colleague, Francis Kolb, to Zwingli for revision, with the request to have them printed in Zurich. The town-clerk of Bern did the same thing, in the name of the Council. Zwingli promised, sent books and advice, and spread the Bernese letters of invitation also among

his friends in Germany. "We have," Haller had written, "the wolf by the ears, but only between door and hinge, and do not know how to deal with him. Therefore, there is some hope among all good Christians here that thou wilt come. Thou knowest what is now laid on Bern, and what great scandal, scorn and shame would at once fall upon the Gospel and us, if we should not prove sufficient for the task. The burgomaster Roist, when he was last here, gave us to hope, that he would also come. Have no fear of way-laying, our government will provide for your safe conduct. Believe me, many call for you. But others prophesy that my Lords will not make much out of the disputation, and the last disappointment will be greater than the first. Stand by me, or rather undertake it thyself. I have written to Æcolampadius, but do not know whether he will come; he has answered that he would like Zwingli to support us. *Summa*; He has bathed; (*gebadet*), thou shouldst lead the bear-dance."*

Zurich had heard the resolution of the Bernese with great joy. Immediately a public safe-conduct was made out for all travelers to Bern, and attendance at the Conference recommended to all belonging to the canton, especially to the priests, who had not yet joined in the Reformation; but Zwingli, who had urgently begged for permission, was commanded to go thither, and the learned Pellican and Collin, along with the preacher Megander, to assist him, all at the expense of the government.

What anxiety, on the other hand, this disputation created among the Five Cantons, appears from their attempts to prevent it. Immediately after the resolution of Bern was made known to them, by her public proclamation, they called together a conference in Luzern, at which also Freiburg, Solothurn and

* [Æcolampadius had played the hero at the Conference of Baden, he had *gebadet*; Zwingli should now do the same at Bern, in whose coat of arms the bear occupied a prominent place.—*Translator*.]

Glarus were represented. A letter of warning was there resolved on. The Five Cantons believed, moreover, it should be drawn up, less in the name of their governments than in that of the Confederacy. From that very moment, when they began to fear, lest other states would likewise venture to unite with Zurich, their strenuous efforts were directed to the preservation at least of a majority of votes in the General Diet. In this they could not fail. They were sure of Freiburg, they counted on Solothurn, but Glarus they endeavored to secure by the same means which had proved abortive with Bern. Here, however, they seemed to succeed better. In fact, the general assembly of the canton handed over at their request a sealed promise not to separate themselves in matters of faith. In this posture of affairs, they held immoveably firm to the opinion, that whatever seven or eight out of thirteen states thought fit, should be considered the decision of the Confederacy. But our whole earlier history shows how varying the practice was in this respect, how single cantons, how a united minority of them often refused to acknowledge the resolutions of the majority; how differently the very Articles of Confederation themselves, and their right to enforce obedience were explained, or stretched, to suit particular cases. But, if ever it was their design to justify the political liberty of each individual member of the Confederacy, then surely it must be so in matters of religion, which are nowhere touched on in the letter of these Articles, whilst the dominion of one over the consciences of the others, is far less in harmony with their spirit.

So had Zurich looked upon the matter from the beginning. So was it now regarded by Bern, with a more decided purpose not to surrender the principle involved. From this time forth two parties began to form themselves in our country, who were diametrically opposed in their views of the nature and obligations of the Articles of Confederacy. The question at first

by no means took the same shape as it did in later times: Shall only *one* ecclesiastical system, or several, be allowed within the limits of a single state? much less that which it now holds in America: Shall the state not concern itself at all about the religious creed of its citizens? Religion and politics, church and state were then thought to be inseparably bound together. Only this was asked: Shall a single state choose its own ecclesiastical system, or be suffered to change it by its own sovereign authority? or has it no such right? Must law be given to it perpetually from without, by a power which stands over it, which even has its head on the other side of the Alps? The Five Cantons, who adhered to the latter view without faltering, were not willing to maintain it merely within their own limits, but wished to have it uttered and acknowledged as a fundamental principle of the Confederacy, and the minority to submit to the majority in its application.

This shows itself plainly in the contents of a letter sent by them to Bern, directly before the Religious Conference held there. "Truly," so it runs, "with no less fear than wonder have we, dear Confederates, received your notice of a conference. What can have induced you to make such a move—you, who not two years ago would have esteemed an undertaking of that kind contrary to all honesty, Christian order and law, and a breach of old usages and sworn treaties? and so we esteem it. Whence comes it? Ah, God mend it! only because you have given too long a rein to your seditious, wicked preachers. They have persuaded you to this thing, in order to color somewhat, and in some measure to plaster over with a deceitful show their defeat at Baden, where by the might and splendor of the truth, by the Holy Scripture itself, they were struck to the earth as blind men. Remember what you and yours swore together with us, for which you gave us sealed documents, yet in our possession. Therefore, we beseech you, in the most pressing

and earnest manner: Abandon your project. Let us know, whether you will do this. On Sunday before New Year the deputies of the VIII. Cantons will be in Luzern. On that day we will look for your answer to this effect. But if all this warning is of no avail, then we desire you to summon your bailiwicks on a certain day previous to the disputation, and give us notice of that day in due time. Then will our Lords and Superiors send their embassy to you, and speak with you and yours, not otherwise than becomes propriety, and is necessary and convenient for us; and, if God will, you and yours, us and ours will be preserved from great misfortune and harm. Meanwhile, perhaps, rude speakers may exhort you not to suffer yourselves to be lorded over by several cantons, ruled, taught, and compelled to believe what may be pleasing to them.

“Ah, dear Confederates! Neither our Lords and Superiors, nor we, ever had any disposition to rule and lord it over you. We bring and compel you to receive no new faith. What is our desire and thought? Only that you and we may remain with each other, dwell peaceably together and rule as your and our forefathers did in the old, true, Christian faith. In this your ancestors and yourselves, your canton and your people have reached great honor. In this did you become Confederates. In this have your ancestors and ours, you and we gained many honorable victories. God be praised therefor! With such a faith, and with the universal Christian Church we desire to remain, and pray God from the heart that He would prevent you by His grace from separating, not alone from us Eight Cantons, but much more from all Christendom.”

Yet this letter, although made out in the names of the Eight Cantons, was not signed by Glarus and Solothurn; not by Glarus, because there also public opinion was rising up more and more in favor of Zwingli's reforms, which obliged the deputies to be very guarded; not by Solothurn, because she

hesitated about expressing herself so strongly to her neighbor Bern, to whom she was bound by so many ties. Its imperious language, though couched in soothing terms, was ill suited to prevail with Bern. It roused there a feeling of proud independence, and how deep a wound it made, appears from the answer:

“You begin your letter to us with reproaches of dishonor. Faithful, dear Confederates, we had expected better things of you. What we did was done for the Christian purpose of honoring God. We hope that treaties have in no wise been violated thereby; but, indeed, we would commend to your consideration, whether the insolent and haughty letter of your envoys be in accordance with them. You conjecture that our preachers have been the occasion of this Conference, in order to repair their injuries at Baden, and color over their defeat. Dear Confederates, you should not deem us such persons as ever to rest upon any class of men the ground and assurance of our true, primitive, Christian faith. Still less can we discover that we have given them too long a rein, because you are ill pleased that we suffer the uncorrupted Word of God to be preached and spread every where amongst us. Far be it from us to cut ourselves off from the Christian Church, whose head is Christ himself; much rather would we do, what becomes good Christians, defend and protect her. And since you remind us of our sealed document, although we are obliged to give neither you nor others an answer concerning it, yet we freely admit that we swore on that day an oath, on account of faith, not of the Confederacy, but in no wise pledged ourselves to you or others to believe what you or they believe. That your forefathers and ours entered into the Confederacy and took oaths of friendship in the same faith we do not deny. But what they at the same time held in their hearts is known to God alone. Had they become so well acquainted with the treachery of Antichrist as you and we, they would

hardly have remained so long in error. Since then you invite us to summon our bailiwicks, so that your envoys may appear before us and them, know ye, that such a step is not in accordance with the Articles of Confederation, and we therefore desire you to abstain from it. And since you suppose there are rude people amongst us, who say they do not wish to be lorded over by other cantons, nor ruled, nor compelled to believe—there is truth in it. We are just as unwilling to go beyond the Articles of Confederation, when asked by you, as you would be, if asked by us; we will, by no means, suffer or permit this. Finally, we understand that unfriendly missives against us have been printed in Luzern, and it cannot be forgotten by you, what was formerly decreed at the Diet on this account. We pray you, therefore, to put a stop to it, else we shall be obliged to print replies. This is what we send you in way of answer to the letter of your envoys, so that henceforth you may know how to negotiate in the matter, and guard against such insolent, disgraceful writing.”

The Five Cantons responded to this provoking language by unfriendly measures. They refused their subjects permission to go to Bern, and denied a safe-conduct to travelers who passed through their boundaries. The government of Luzern, excited to the highest pitch of hostility by the passionate Doctor Murner, did not prevent him from attacking Bern and her government in the most unmeasured style in various libelous writings, issued by a printing-house of his own. All this increased the hatred toward that state and the favorable inclination toward Zurich.

Here collected, in the meantime, all those persons from Eastern Switzerland and the neighboring parts of Germany, who intended to be present at the conflict in Bern. On New Year's evening, in the year of our Lord, 1528, they were entertained at the chamber of the Canons by the government of

Zurich. The day following, preachers and scholars, more than a hundred in number, they set out, surrounded by a troop of armed men to command respect, for it had been rumored that in the free bailiwicks, where the Five Cantons swayed the majority of the rulers, they would be threatened with danger. They reached Bern on the the third evening, where also Oecolampadius and the theologians of Strassburg, Bucer and Capito, had already arrived. Religion had put science in motion. From the union of both, politics were to receive their direction. The events in Bern were to determine the fate of Switzerland. Statesmen as well as scholars acknowledged this. The city had neglected nothing in order to make clear its honor, its rectitude and its hospitality. The government had exhibited firmness on all sides. To the Emperor himself, who in a very earnest tone had issued a positive command to abolish the Conference, it had been replied respectfully, but decidedly, that the preparations had already gone too far to permit this.

On the sixth of January the business was opened in the church of the Franciscans. Of splendid accommodations for one party and mean ones for the other, as at Baden, there was nothing to be seen. Several times were the opponents of the Reformers requested to assist each other. "You see"—said the *landvogt* Manuel, who was appointed to summon the speakers according to the rules—"how *they* confess the articles to be good, and faithfully keep together; therefore, I pray and warn you once more, for God's sake, to bring into one place *your* opposing speakers, and assist each other by counsel, writing and speaking. This our gracious Lords will accept with great gratitude as a favorable token of your good-will."

Into the particulars of the Conference it is not needful to enter here. The whole story and the result are pictured for us in a report, still extant, from the pen of a zealous Catholic, who was an ear-and-eye-witness: "What I have so often said,"

writes Jacob of Muenster, priest at Solothurn, to a lawyer in Mayence—"has been clearly exhibited at this heretical gathering. We are going downwards, only by our own indolence, and because the heads of our church do nothing for science. Several of our adherents in Bern, hitherto members of the government, had implored the bishops even with threats, to send hither learned men, able to cope with the heretics. No one came; no one sent. At last appeared a certain Augustinian brother. They call him Provincial Conrad Freger. He brought with him skill in talking, but of true eloquence and science I could not discover a trace. When proof from the Scripture was demanded, he traveled off. I found nothing in him but a barefaced monk, although others looked for a prodigy. Still more boisterously did a certain Dominicaster beat about him with passages of Scripture for several days, but in the end showed that he understood no Greek. The best among them was the schoolmaster of Zofingen. They call him, The Letter. What he quoted from the writings of the Fathers, in defence of the church, was worth hearing. He knew more than all the others put together; yet sufficient power was lacking in him also. Thus must we mourn over our want of skill and contempt of science. Oh, if Erasmus had only been present! But I should tell you something about the heretics. My bile was stirred up—hence, only a little. They did not appear to me so sure of their cause, that we could not have frightened them, if we did not gain a victory, by able speakers, versed in the Scriptures, which, however, we must confess, are not with us in everything. I often saw them not agreed as to the answer to be given; one often putting anxious questions to the other, often whispering to him. Several were only encouraged and roused up by the pertinacious vehemence of Zwingli. This beast is in fact more learned even than I had thought. The saucy *Æcolampadius* may understand the Prophets and the Hebrew language better,

and perhaps equal him in Greek, but falls far behind him in fertility of mind, power, and clearness of representation. How Capito should be rated I could not discover. Bucer spoke more. And, if he had the same learning and knowledge of the languages as Œcolampadius and Zwingli, he would be far more dangerous, so graceful is his gesture and manner, and so pleasant his speech. Thus we stood, wretchedly equipped against the most skillful heretics. Here roared a little mass-priest one moment, and there again another. Alas! they were taught choral singing and nothing else. Honor to that schoolmaster Letter! and yet he himself has not gone beyond the letter. And what was now the issue? Our decided overthrow. How easy it could have been prevented, had our bishops only turned their attention more to humane studies than to base wenchings. Thou wilt ask: Is there no longer any hope of mastering this extension of heresy? It is certainly slim. The Luzernese, at the head of the Five Cantons, have taken all possible pains to do this, more, in fact, than all the bishops together; but from our weak defence, the belief has been impressed on the multitude, that we have nothing to defend, and the majority has overcome the better minority. Now the Zurichers can have their own way with them. Thou knowest what cunning they possess and what immoveable constancy."

After the German Conference, which lasted eighteen days, a shorter one followed in the Latin language, for the priests of the bailiwicks of Aelen and Granson. William Farell, a learned Frenchman, who for some time had been laboring for the Reformation with the most unwearied zeal, in Western Switzerland, had to do with opponents still more ignorant than those which fell to his German friends. This part of the proceedings was so sadly lacking in earnestness and dignity, that the details of it were not suffered to appear in the Acts of the Conference, which were immediately put to press and published by the

government of Bern. Zwingli also exerted a powerful influence upon the city in general, by two sermons. It is narrated, that, during the delivery of one of them, a priest threw off the mass-robe, which he had already put on, with the words: "If the mass does not rest on firmer grounds, I will never celebrate it again." With gratitude the government of Bern gave a liberal recompense to the foreign scholars and ambassadors and an escort until they had passed beyond their borders. Two weeks after the Conference, appeared their detailed ordinance touching the re-organization of the church-system. In it they cut themselves loose from all former connection with the bishops: "Since you"—so they say—"in spite of all prayers and invitations have staid away from the Disputation, and since you indeed shear the poor sheep, but have not pastured them, we deprive you of your selfish trade, and neither we, nor they who come after us, wish to be bound in any way to you or your successors." All deacons and pastors are released from their oath to them, and required henceforth to give it to the government. He who refuses, is to be banished. In regard to the mass, images and monasteries, they will be dealt with as in Zurich. Living benefactors of ecclesiastical institutions are allowed to take back their gifts. For the rest, account shall be afterward rendered to the government. Yet, it is expressly added: "Not that we wish to appropriate such gifts to our own use, as they are still to be called *gifts of God*, but so to dispose of them that our honor and justice will stand clear before God and the world." Finally, the rules of fasting and celibacy were abolished, but self-government was demanded for the freedom restored. On this point the document speaks thus: "And as we have heretofore punished, in the rate of ten pounds, those who have eaten flesh and eggs on forbidden days, so will we henceforth fine at the same rate all who take more than their nature can bear, pouring it down after the ninth sleeping-cup, and those who

drink on and carouse; when they are guilty of it frequently, heavier punishment is reserved, to be laid on each one according to circumstances."

From what has just been narrated, we see the influence exerted by Zwingli upon Bern. Let us now take into consideration the reaction of Bern upon Zwingli. When he began his great work in Zurich, the path of its development could scarcely have been marked out before his eyes. He little thought of political commotion. Even the mischief arising from desertions and pensions, which he only fought against on account of their evil effects on religion and morals, could be prevented without change either in the government of the several states, or in the ground-work, nature or language of the Articles of Confederacy. The refusal of Zurich to take part in the French Alliance awakened displeasure, it is true, among her sister-cantons, but even this was followed by no direct disturbance of her relations with them. Now came the division of the bishopric, already an influential step. A new principle was introduced into the ecclesiastical, which was so closely interwoven with the political life. But this principle was rejected by all the other states up to the Conference of Baden. The Five Cantons and the party belonging to the old faith hoped from this Conference so glorious an acknowledgment of it in the others, that even Zurich would be obliged to submit. It happened otherwise. Bern also fell away from the principle of the Five Cantons. A new idea of the Confederacy began to form itself in opposition to the old; but even here again some difference prevailed. The ecclesiastical reform in Zurich had been effected by appealing to the people and with their aid. By it and through it, also, the democratic tendency in political life attained the victory. Toward the close of the year 1527, no more traces of the activity of a Secret Council are to be found; all business of any importance had to be brought

from the Small before the Great Council, from whence the people were generally informed of it, and not seldom asked for their opinion. In particular emergencies, indeed, the Great Council clothed some of its members with dictatorial power, but only for a few weeks and under public accountability. But the more democratic the form of political life becomes, just so much the more indispensable are culture and the religious elevation of the people. The strengthening of a sense of right demands as a necessary counterpoise, an exalted sense of duty. Thus state and church go together, indissoluble in their mutual relations, in consequence of which every commotion in the sphere of one, reacts inevitably on that of the other; but whilst the authority of the state rests upon law and its severe administration, the power of the church ought to be grounded only upon conviction, faith, freedom and love, for these are the requirements as well as the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel. In a democracy the law must be a most complete defence against the wicked; the Gospel the basis of all improvement. As the principles of the church and of the state differ in this way, so do they also in the mode of their use. This difference was clearly apprehended by Zwingli. We see it above. The ecclesiastical and political reforms of Zurich had shaped themselves according to these principles. In all religious matters, conviction was first sought; in all political, proof that the letter of the law would justify or demand it, was sufficient. Whatever may be the relation of the church to the state in other forms of government, this must continue the most suitable for a democracy. Bern, on the other hand, was never democratic. It is true, indeed, that even here ecclesiastical reform was only possible by the removal of some of the most influential heads of the aristocracy, which, however, did not succumb as completely as in Zurich, so that even the friends of the Reformation and of Zwingli, who form the middle class, worked their way into the

government, accepted partly from necessity and partly of their own accord, aristocratic forms and principles. The closer the connection between Bern and Zurich now became, the less could a reaction of the former upon the latter be prevented. The commercial city was rather disposed to treat with her subjects; the knightly to issue her commands. In Zurich the Great Council had, through Zwingli's influence, become the ruling authority; in Bern, as might be expected from her character, it was always the Small. As long as the Reformation was confined to Zurich, the ecclesiastical tendency predominated; in proportion as it passed over to Bern, Basel and other states, the political gained the upper hand. The question, whether the Church or the Holy Scriptures ought to decide in matters of faith, was scientific and historical; that, as to how the Articles of Confederation should be interpreted; what was the limit of the Diet's authority, and for what single states might resist a majority of the others, belonged to the sphere of public law. By the accession of Bern to Zurich, and the common position, which they had now to assume and maintain against the Five Cantons, Zwingli was obliged to take up this question touching the Confederacy, to give counsel, to mingle in politics, to tread the slippery path with one foot, as it were, whilst the other remained on the firm foundation of religious principle. The consequences of this vacillating course are apparent, from the beginning of the year 1528 onward, in the striking change manifest in his mode of dealing with the affairs of his own canton. The same man, who hitherto had done homage to the principle of absolute publicity, who expected in favor of Christianity, as he found it in the Holy Scriptures and drew it thence, a more lively acknowledgment from the sound sense of the people than from learned craftiness; from the uncorrupted feelings of men than philosophical arrogance, to whom Christianity was the most elevated—the only

worthy religion for a nation; who, therefore, had to look to the people for the maintenance of his reformatory measures; this same man began now to employ all the arts of a politician, for the upholding and spread of these same measures of reform—a bold undertaking, altogether too bold—one that compelled him to play a double part, in which superhuman effort he at last fell a bloody sacrifice. As we proceed, this will become more clear and evident from authenticated facts.

At the time, when Zurich yet stood alone among her sister-confederates, shortly after the Conference of Baden, when her repeated vindication, her fourth complaint against exclusion from the public councils in direct violation of treaties resounded unheard, and her letters to the Five Cantons were no longer read, and threats multiplied, the neighboring imperial city of Constance found herself in a like forsaken condition. There also, through the preaching of Ambrosius Blaarer, a friend of Zwingli, and others, the reformation of the church had made such active progress, that the bishop and the majority of the canons withdrew in anger to Ueberlingen and Moersburg, and the Emperor caused the city to feel the weight of his displeasure; but the Council, devoted to the new order of things, looked around beyond the walls for support in case of need. The necessity appeared the greater, because the suspicion prevailed among many of the citizens that Austria, sure of the secret approval of the head of the Empire, would use the favorable moment to take possession of a place so well situated on the frontier. The behavior of the Archducal Vicegerent, Marcus Sittich von Ems, strengthened the suspicion. His troopers rode up close to the gates of the city. He himself looked about in the neighborhood for a spot, as he said, on which to pitch a camp. In these straits Constance turned toward Zurich and sought a defensive alliance with her. After long negotiations, conducted in secret, this was at last concluded on the 25th of December, 1527, a

few days before the Zurichers set out to the Conference at Bern. They carried the news thither. Bern also, in a certain measure by storm, was won over as a party. As early as the 6th of January, 1528, the very day on which the Religious Conference was opened, the majority of the Great Council expressed their willingness to take the matter in hand. The name given to the Alliance, the Christian *Buergerrecht*, (Citizen's rights), was easy to understand, not so its spirit. In the ancient treaties the Five Cantons had surrendered the privilege of contracting other alliances without the common consent of all the states; the three original cantons, therefore, could not permit any deliberation among separated cantonal authorities. Zurich, on the contrary, and Bern, at the time of their accession to the Confederacy, had reserved this privilege in writing. As a natural consequence, the ties of the Federal Compact were viewed somewhat differently by its members. To the original cantons they appeared closer; to the cities, especially Zurich, less restrictive. This conflict of opinion had contributed not a little to the duration and violence of the old Zurich War, in the preceding century. Now it revived again, and that at a most unpropitious moment. In the *Buergerrecht*, stipulations were certainly made in regard to the Emperor and Empire, as well as the Confederates, so that the obligations under which the two cities had come toward them, seemed to be ratified on the face of it; but this same *Buergerrecht* spoke also of the possibility of warlike expeditions, the division of whatever might be conquered, and the privilege of enlarging and extending itself to other cities and territories. Here lay the manifest germ of a new confederacy, resting on new foundations, and the subsequent movements of Zwingli, since expressions incontestibly show that he, more perhaps than any statesman in Zurich, had thought of such an issue. The further the Reformation advanced, the more did it appear to him an affair of historical

developement, the author of new conditions in political life; but to these very changes, many of those, who were favorable to the new religious views, showed themselves decidedly averse; for to them the Federal Compact, under its existing forms, was a thing to be kept inviolably sacred. The time had come when a two-fold choice was placed before him; either of his own accord to retire altogether from the sphere of politics and, plant himself upon purely religious ground, where he might be unassailable; or else to become more completely a politician, *i. e.* the soul of a faithful band of the most resolute and able members of the government, who now, in a narrow circle and in profound secrecy, prepared and paved the way for the most important business, such as that for which Zwingli himself, at an earlier period, had demanded the greatest possible publicity. The embarrassment into which his retreat would throw the heads of the government, his unrivalled skill in doing business, the hope, that he might cherish, of seeing his political plans succeed as well as his reforms in the church, his own conviction of their necessity in order to uphold the religious movement, and his peculiar position as the citizen of a free state, who could not, as a man of science, be overlooked in the ordering of his country's affairs—all this together drew him toward the second and more dangerous path.

Although, we observe with concern, that he now takes this path; although a foreboding of the fruitless struggles, which he thus prepared for himself, is awakened within us, there is also at the same time a growing admiration of the power displayed by him, and his persevering activity, not only in the field of politics, but in his vocation as a teacher, preacher, and theological writer, which he yet fulfilled with undiminished fidelity. He, who feels such strength within, durst aim at the very highest. Not in blind hatred of the existing order, would he destroy it: out of party-spirit, pride, or lust for dominion: a noble image of a

fatherland not split asunder, but made young again, reviving in fuller vigor under new forms, hovered before his soul. Heart and head had contributed to its outlines; nor was its realization, by means of a sincere and general effort, beyond the range of possibility. Can it then be imputed to him as a crime, that so few comprehended his ideal, that the time was not ripe for it?

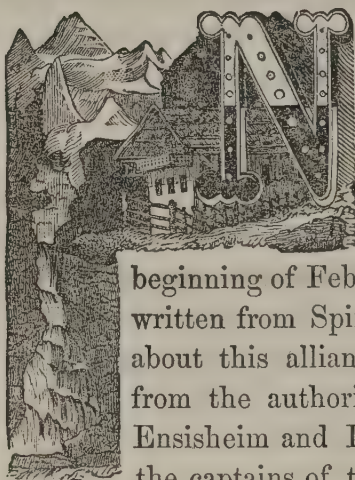
In Bern, meanwhile, the negotiations touching the Christian *Buergerrecht* were actively carried on by the government during the Religious Conference, in spite of the opposition, as it appears, of a party averse to the Alliance. Roist and the town-clerk, Mangolt, sent information of this to Zurich in several letters. They spoke of consultations with intimate acquaintances, with trusty friends, and of the confidential but unofficial communications of the latter. Zwingli also, busy as he was during the session of that Diet, aided the Zurich Council by drawing up two opinions for the removal of certain doubts on the part of Schwytz. After a happy issue in ecclesiastical as well as political matters, Zwingli ascended the pulpit once more and took his leave: "Understand now"—so he concluded his discourse—"the liberty, which Christ gives you, and abide therein according to the word of the Apostle. You know under what a yoke our consciences groaned, and how we were led from one false hope to another; from one law to another. But now you see that freedom and hope rest upon knowledge and trust; upon confidence toward God through Jesus Christ, His only-begotten Son. Never suffer yourselves to be robbed of freedom and the salvation of your souls. Nothing requires so much courage as this. And as our forefathers, thanks be to God! stood up everywhere bold and unterrified in defence of personal liberty, much more should we stand fast in those things, which give us peace of conscience here and make us eternally joyful hereafter; not doubting that God, who has enlightened and drawn you, will also draw our dear neighbors,

the other Confederates, in his own good time, so that we in true friendship, to which right knowledge is in no wise opposed, may become more harmonious than we ever were before. May God, who has created and saves us all, bestow this upon them and us!"

Whilst concord between Zurich and Bern appeared to be restored and their union made stronger than ever, the news of the prevailing alliance was received in Luzern with the liveliest indignation. At a Diet held there, to which he had come on other business, a Bernese ambassador, William von Diessbach, was called to account by the Five Cantons. It is very probable he affirmed that his Lords had a right to make the treaty.—Amid outbursts of displeasure, the session was immediately raised, but after his departure it was again opened. "The Devil take the old faith;" said the Bernese upon the street, "it is no longer tenable." This saying, reported to the sergeants of the Council, increased their wrath. The parties were separated. To organize and strengthen themselves was a natural consequence.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTIES. BREACH OF THE GENERAL PEACE



NOT only was the reciprocal relation of the states within the Confederacy changed by the conclusion of the *Buergerrecht*; but that of the entire nation toward foreign countries was just as much altered. Early in the beginning of February, 1528, a letter of the Emperor, written from Spire, reached Luzern, with complaints about this alliance; very similar ones were received from the authorities of the Austrian Government at Ensisheim and Inspruck, and still a fourth one from the captains of the Swabian League. "Constance," such was their general drift, "is not at all competent to conclude a treaty of this kind without the consent of the Emperor, nor have the Confederate Cities any right to enter into it. It is not impossible that it may yet be the occasion of war, and the damage resulting may be ascribed to their own folly by the Confederates." This warning was very acceptable to the deputies of the Eight Cantons. It was immediately communicated to the Zurichers. "You see," was the language of the accompanying letter, "whither the necessity of finding allies for the maintenance of your superstition must lead you. Do not hope

that we will stand by you in case of war. It is not our doing; we, who wish to uphold the laws, regulations and customs of our fathers, will not be accused of disturbing the peace of the Empire. We exhort you, by virtue of our Confederation, to abstain from unlawful alliances." But neither Zurich and Bern, on the one hand, nor Constance on the other, were moved by all this. "We have," answered they, "strictly examined our Confederate Charter, our Imperial Privileges, the Hereditary Union with Austria—all necessary documents, and have nowhere been able to find, that we have transcended law or privilege. And Constance is just as little subject to Austria or the Swabian League, as we. Why do they then wish to interfere? Our *Buergerrecht* was devised not for disturbing the peace of the Empire, but to aid in preserving it." Agreement became more and more difficult. The Five Cantons, already standing in hostile attitude toward Zurich and Bern, sought to persuade Glarus, Freiburg and Solothurn to a closer, special union "for the maintenance of the old, true Christian faith, the holy seven sacraments and particularly the office and sacrifice of the mass, with all good Christian rules, benedictions and usages, as handed down from our forefathers, nothing excepted"—for the suppression of every innovation in the Common Territories, and armed succor, if either there or on their own soil an attack is made on that faith, whose support and defence should be the highest duty, higher even than the preservation of the Confederacy. From Freiburg they received an unconditional assent; from Glarus and Solothurn, where the friends of Reform were increasing in number, one with provisos attached. Wallis (*Valais*) also joined the alliance. More anon. The time had come, when the Five Cantons began likewise to look beyond the limits of the Confederacy. Austria was the nearest to them. Zurich and Bern had sought foreign aid in order to carry out their innovations more securely, why should they refuse the same for

the preservation of the old faith, for upholding the unity of the church. Through the bishops of Chur, especially through their friends in Graubuenden, they hoped to obtain access to the authorities of the Archducal government in Inspruck. Meanwhile these projects were kept secret for a long time within a narrow circle of those who could be trusted. They first came to light, when, in the summer of 1528, a second alliance in addition to the Christian *Buergerrecht* was concluded between Zurich and Bern, who were moved thereto, as they said, by the violent suppression, on the part of the Eight Cantons, of all attempts at reform in the Common Territories. "Since," so it is recorded in the original documents relating to this matter, "our dear Confederates of the Eight Cantons are not only offended and show themselves averse to us and our adherents in our Christian enterprise, but have even taken occasion specially to pledge and bind themselves to remain true to the old faith, as they call it, and have attempted to seduce several of ours from their Christian enterprise and respect and obedience to us, promising them help, counsel, encouragement and succor against us, all for the suppression of the Divine Word and of the duty, which our people owe to us, it is not only becoming in us, but our great necessity demands it, so that the Divine Word and evangelical truth may not in any measure be kept down by outrage and violence, but that we and ours may be allowed to remain in the free enjoyment thereof without any fear or terror of man."—And thus one measure of mistrust and dislike continually provoked another still more hostile. There was less and less concealment in the efforts of each to strengthen their party.

Any one acquainted with the history of Switzerland knows what ties of relationship, of agreement in their manners and mode of living, and neighborly intercourse existed from the most ancient times, between the inhabitants of Obwalden and

those of the Haslithal and a part of the Bernese Oberland. Their friendship was kept alive by popular festivals celebrated in common, and also by the reverence which was paid, especially in the interior of Switzerland, to Saint Beatus, who, as the first promulgator of Christianity in that region, dwelt in a cave on the shore of lake Thun, called by his name, and received canonization. Numerous pilgrimages were made thither from the Five Cantons. The rumor, that the relics of the saint, exhibited there on such occasions, had been cast into the lake by order of the Bernese government, awakened universal indignation. But this was not true. Two deputies of the Council had taken possession of them in order to carry them to Interlachen and bury them afterward. In complaints against the abolition of their pilgrimages, the inhabitants of the Bernese Oberland joined with their neighbors of Unterwalden. Pastoral races are very tenacious of old customs. If these be taken away their respect for law is often shaken at the same time. The government of Bern had to experience this. Between the two lakes of Thun and Brienz lay, under the lordly supervision of Bern, the wealthy Augustinian cloister of Interlachen. Its domain extended over a great part of the surrounding country and through the mountain-valleys of Lauterbrunnen and Grindelwald. The monks of that period were in good repute neither for their learning nor their morals. The provost himself, Nicholas Trachsel, was destitute both of external and internal dignity. And when the doctrines in regard to the uselessness of monkery, the unscripturalness of spiritual lordship, and the rights of Christian liberty now began to spread among the people subject to the foundation, they immediately applied them to deliverance from all dependence; from the duty of paying rents and tithes. If the one, said they, is an invention of man, so is the other. If we are to receive the Gospel, which teaches liberty among brethren, then will we also become our own mas-

ters, an independent canton like Unterwalden and Uri. The Provost, who did not know how to resist them, fled with a few friends to Bern, where, for a decent maintenance, he surrendered the monastery along with its domains and privileges into the hands of the Council. Under sanction of the Great Council, an agreement was quickly made by the government with the assembled convent; its seal, documents, revenues and jewels were brought to Bern; an officer was sent thither, and the whole converted into a bailiwick. But the people belonging to the monastery, who asserted that they ought to have had a voice in the change, at once preferred a complaint. When the government tried to postpone investigation, a violent insurrection broke out, which found sympathy even in some parts of their own district. New hopes were excited among the friends of the Old Order by this uprising of the malcontents, with whom the inhabitants of the Haslithal and other Oberlanders also joined, at the instigation of their neighbors in Obwalden. The Council was in great perplexity. Some of its own members secretly rejoiced—but only the most violent. With others, who also were little favorable to the Reformation, the sense of duty, which demanded the sacrifice of personal inclination to the interests of the state, predominated. From this class chiefly, a commission was chosen to examine on the spot the grievances of the malcontents and negotiate with them. They succeeded in restoring political order by lessening their rents, tithes and other taxes; by remitting more than 50,000 pounds of outstanding dues, and a promise of increased support for the poor and sick; but to allay the religious excitement was a far more difficult task.

Here, for the first time, the two religious parties appeared in arms against each other. The occasion was given by a split among the Oberlanders themselves—division in a matter, where no majority could decide. In the Haslithal the Reformation

had found resolute adherents. They and the preachers sent hither from Bern were a source of daily vexation to their fellow-citizens of the old faith, who surpassed them in numbers. The latter sought advice from their neighbors of Obwalden, who, on their part, very willingly came forward and tried to gain over their allies to the support of the Oberlanders. In this they were not unsuccessful. Even the ruling authorities of the Five Cantons exhorted them to hold fast to the old religion in public or in private, and hinted at coming events and help just at hand. Under the pretext of looking once more upon the bones of Saint Beatus, the abbot of Uri, the *landamman* and several prominent Zugers came to Interlachen. Ought not the wicked attempt of the innovators to commit them to the earth be prevented? Captain Schönbrunner of Zug asserted that he had concealed at least part of the relics in his cap and thus saved them. "Come to us in future," they now said, "as we heretofore made pilgrimages to you. St. Beatus lies with us." The public mind became more and more disturbed in the Haslithal. One Sunday in June, some of the leaders, instigated by persons from Obwalden, called together a general assembly of the people. The question was started whether the mass should be restored; and it was decided in the affirmative by a vote of one hundred and fifty one, against one hundred and eleven. Dispatches immediately went forth to Obwalden and Uri for priests, and several were conducted by the country people of the Five Cantons, yea, by the very magistrates, with drums and fifes to Hasle and Brienz; and mass was again celebrated amid great rejoicing. What should the government do? It was a perilous undertaking for them to carry out changes in worship against the decided will of a majority of the people. Some members of the Council declared their opposition to it. The mass, they thought, might be permitted, without bringing back episcopal power and foreign church-rule. But the Great Council firmly rejected

every such compromise. Copies of the treaties, by which they had come under the dominion of Bern, were sent to the inhabitants of the Haslithal, and appeals made to their duty of submission to the highest authorities of the Canton, even in ecclesiastical affairs. It was all in vain. The adherents of the old faith, stirred up by their new priests, determined to yield under no circumstances. They asked help from Obwalden; they ventured to appear before the deputies of the Five Cantons, assembled at Beckenried, with a similar request. But no resolution was passed in their favor; even Uri and Zug came out strongly against any interference incompatible with the federal laws. The affair was regarded in a different light by Obwalden, and, under the name, it is true, of an embassy to mediate between the parties in the valley, a delegation was sent thither, accompanied, however, by twenty-eight young men adorned with fir-twigs, the defiant badge of the old party. Instead of reconciliation they brought fiercer quarrels. The friends of the Reformation were roused, when they ventured to call them heretics. Deputies from both sides now hastened to Bern, with prayers for succor from one and a declaration from the other, that they were willing to obey in all things, except matters of faith, which neither the Confederation nor the government, but the Church alone, had a right to touch. In this emergency, where they ought to issue commands, but where those commands could not be executed, was a source of uneasiness to the most skillful statesmen. Meanwhile this much was clear, that a protest must be uttered against every interference from abroad. The *schultheiss* of Erlach, along with two members of the Small and three of the Great Council, went to Sarnen. All save Councillor Wagner belonged to the lukewarm friends of the Reformation. It was hoped that their language would, for this reason, be less offensive in Obwalden. The *schultheiss*, in his address, kept wholly within the limits

of a political consideration of the question. But when, among various cutting remarks, it was cast up to him, that the very Articles of Confederation, to which he appealed, and which were formerly, by reason of the common, venerable faith of their pious forefathers, sworn to in the names of the Saints, had been first brought into contempt by Bern and violated by her anti-christian innovations: "The Articles of Confederation," said Erlach, "do not touch upon religion, and grant full liberty in regard to it."—"Well!" replied the old *landamman*, Halter, "if you yourselves say, that the Articles of Confederation do not touch upon religion, then they cannot be violated even by our intervention in matters of faith; and if your people or others appeal to us for sympathy or succor, where true Christianity, as we have received it from our old fathers, is concerned, we will pledge our persons and property for its maintenance, and still keep our honor towards you." The more clearly the Bernese tried, after this, to exhibit the distinct peculiarities and rights of church and state before the assembly at Hasle, the more did they fall, perhaps to the injury of their cause, into that confusion of ideas, which is altogether unavoidable, when we do not know how to discriminate between Christ's kingdom of faith and love, resting only on his Gospel, intended both for this world and the other, whose very element is freedom, and a government under tyrannic forms established by men in his name. As a true knowledge of the first lies at the foundation of the visible church, it alone can exert a beneficial influence upon the life of the state; yea, without this influence nothing worthy of being so called can possibly exist. The opposite, found in the latter, leads only to discord.

But for such a discrimination of ideas that age was not at all prepared. Prejudiced opinion and passion triumphed.—A multitude of excited people, from all the vallies of the Oberland, streamed into Hasle. "We ourselves," said they,

“desire to uphold the faith, the faith of the church, and be separate from the government. On this faith only have we sworn allegiance; if it be taken away, our obligations are dissolved. We will fall in with the Confederates, who hold fast to the old pledges.” Before the eyes of the *schult-heiss* and his companions, in direct violation of the law, leaders were chosen, the ministers of Grindelwald, *Æsche* and *Gsteig* driven out of their houses with their families, mass-priests placed in their stead, the adherents of the government threatened and compelled to fly, reports of the help promised by their neighbors circulated on all sides—indeed, after several weeks of agitation and violence, the greater part of the Oberlanders, assembled at Interlachen, swore under no circumstances to separate themselves from the real Catholic church, to seek justice from none but the Seven Cantons of the Old Confederacy; to suffer no persons to be punished except under their sentence; to keep possession of the cloister and its domains, and to render mutual aid with their persons and property.

Bern was thrown into great embarrassment. Berchthold Haller wrote to Zwingli: “The Small Council has lost its head; it is given up by us Evangelicals. We have to hunt up the members at their country-seats; the vintage serves as an excuse for their absence and neglect of duty. Those of the Great Council murmur, lament and rave; but even they can find no remedy. They try by adjournments and tricks to avoid the necessity of sending out troops. Meanwhile the power of Antichrist increases everyday.” But the impotence was not so universal as represented by the timid preacher. Courage revived; the Confederates were written to for a faithful examination of affairs and help in the hour of need, and a vanguard was sent to Thun; but the march of the entire army was delayed, because the soldiers were not to be trusted in all cases. This was to be expected. Conflicting religious views and the

boldly proclaimed resolution of the Oberlanders to risk everything for their party, might seem to those, who had favored the Reformation more from necessity than inward conviction, no sufficient reason to take up arms against them. Something else had to be added to justify the expedition. But it did not last. Even the lukewarm were compelled to acknowledge that determined action had become just as much a duty as a necessity.

The insurgent Oberlanders themselves, though united for the maintenance of the old faith, were no wise so in reference to their position toward the government. Among a portion of them the feeling of loyalty was not wholly extinct. They did not wish to separate themselves from the state of Bern, nor refuse obedience in political matters. It was otherwise with the more violent, who, for the time being, had the upper hand. These latter desired a formal breach with the government. They continued to believe in the possibility of forming an independent canton of the Confederacy, under a constitution and laws of their own making. Moreover, they hoped, should their Catholic neighbors lend them aid, to secure and increase at the same time their real power; and in the youthful heads of Obwalden especially such hopes had found sympathy. In fact, eight hundred men set out for the Oberland, and that under the banner of the canton, which was carried by a grandson of the friar Nicholas von Flue, and six hundred men of Uri were ready to follow them in spite of the disapprobation of their own Council. This rash proceeding was a breach of the public peace, according to the spirit and letter of the Articles of Confederation, and the Bernese government had henceforth a perfect right to resist it by arms in the most energetic manner. And so it happened. Under the command of the *Shultheiss* Von Erlach, five thousand men provided with artillery and all necessary supplies marched out. From the very moment, when the power of the government was dis-

played, the confidence of its friends increased and the courage of its enemies sank. Many of the Oberlanders, who were in Interlachen, saw the arrival of the men of Obwalden with concern, knowing their cause would be rather endangered than promoted by them. They began to rue the step they had taken, and quietly to desert the ranks of the insurgents. A hurried embassy from Basel, the inhabitants of the country around Sarnen, and even a deputation from Luzern showed the men of Obwalden that their invasion was a breach of the Federal Compact, with good effect upon the more considerate. Cold weather was approaching, and the rain poured down in torrents; they became fearful, if they did not speedily return home, of finding the mountain-passes blocked up with snow, and hence the Bernese advanced without resistance, whilst the enemy retreated and in the end dispersed. The more peaceable and better-thinking people of the Five Cantons expected this turn of affairs, yea even wished it. "Then the peasants," so writes Captain Shoenbrunner of Zug in his journal, which is still extant, "went back again to their Lords of Bern, which was not improper; for it is natural for every man to cleave to his own."

The punishment that followed was truly severe: the restitution of all property stolen or destroyed, payment of costs, the acceptance of the Reformation, the surrendry of their banners with the seal of the canton, and the abrogation of all privileges and immunities, formed the chief items. The oath of unconditional obedience had to be sworn on their bended knees.—"Then," we are told by a contemporary, "the horse-guards were sent into all the insurgent villages, and especially into the valley of Grindelwald to apprehend the real authors of the mischief, the ringleaders and the pillagers. Then were the houses of the rebels ransacked, and their cattle, goods and possessions, and whatever property belonged to the Unterwal-

deners in the canton were taken and confiscated to the city of Bern, though afterward through pity much was given back again to women and children. Hereupon some arrived from Halse, Brienz, Grindelwald, Habkeren and Rinckenberg in chains. These they sent with the others, who were captured on the ascent at Oberhofen, to Thun, and thence to be dealt with according to their deserts, well guarded to Bern." A number of the parties most deeply implicated escaped punishment by fleeing to Obwalden. Among these was a certain Hans im Sand, an aged, wealthy and, in other respects, estimable man. He afterward crossed over the Bruenig by stealth to visit his family, and was then betrayed, condemned and beheaded. In accordance with the barbarous custom of the age, his widow was obliged to pay the executioner, who went himself to get his wages. At the earnest request of those, who had remained faithful, part of their privileges were gradually restored, first to the inhabitants of the Haslithal and then to the people of the monastery. Most of the captives were set free through the prayers of friends or by giving bail. On the other hand, the brother of the Provost of Interlachen and two more of the principal rebels were executed, and Christian Kolb, who had everywhere stirred up the insurgents to excess and violence, was not only slain but quartered.

After this victory, the government of Bern addressed itself to the establishment of the Reformation in the entire canton as well as to its more rapid diffusion in all parts of the Confederacy. St. Gall, where the mass and images had already been laid aside, now joined the Christian *Buergerrecht*. In Basel, the middle class took a still bolder stand against the more aristocratic party belonging to the old faith. The Council was divided and cramped; one burgomaster stood opposed to the other. Now the deputies of the cantons and now those of the cities appeared with attempts at mediation. The churches re-

echoed with the mutual recriminations of the mass-priests and the preachers. *Æcolampadius* wisely continued to speak in favor of peace, but he could not bring it about; for the time for anything like compromise had gone by. Crowds of armed men broke into the churches by force, altars were overthrown, pictures and images dashed to pieces, dragged into the streets and burned: the Small Council was compelled to exile twelve of its members, and the Great Council to increase its number by the admission of four associates from each guild. A committee, appointed by them and armed with full authority, succeeded in restoring quiet. The introduction of the Reformation into the whole canton followed these events. In Glarus also, Schaffhausen, Appenzel and Graubuenden the new party gained strength every day. Even Solothurn no longer stood firm in the old faith, especially since *Berchthold Haller* had been called thither as a preacher.

In all directions, with unremitting zeal, by his counsel, by his writings, by his correspondence, *Zwingli* wrought upon the government of Zurich, which committed to him the drawing up of its opinions, and, as appears from the protocols, usually gave him a voice, during the latter years of his life, in the most important deliberations of a political nature. When the thorough measures, which he wished and demanded, met with resistance from those, who were yet averse to church-reforms, he procured, by means of a fiery sermon, about the close of the year 1528, the passage of a law compelling the members of the Small and Great Councils, man for man, to declare and avow their faith, and accept preaching and the Lord's Supper in the Evangelical mode. Some were excluded from the Small Council, who would not make this promise. Equally clear, from his correspondence, is the great attention bestowed by him on events occurring outside of the fatherland; the proceedings of the Imperial Diet, the mandates of the Emperor, and the measures of

Austria. Even before the treaty of the *Buergerrecht* was ratified with Constance, he received hints from different quarters in regard to secret negotiations carried on between the authorities of the Austrian government and the Five Cantons. The apprehensions might perhaps be exaggerated. But they struck him as important. Hence he did not strive to conceal the possibility of war; and a historical work, which would give a full portrait of so great a character, durst not suppress the fact, that previous to the Conference in Bern he had prepared for such an emergency a very elaborate plan of defence, which is still extant in his own hand-writing.* He, who would censure him for this, should not, on the other side, forget the courageous spirit which, at a time, when Zurich stood almost alone in the Confederacy, still, relying only upon the truth and justice of the cause to be defended, thought it possible to maintain the battle against such overwhelming odds as then existed. In this feeling the pamphlet was thrown off, from the beginning of which we make the following extract: "The author has pondered over this counsel for the honor of God and the good of Christ's Gospel, so that wickedness and injustice may not get the upper hand and put down the fear of God and innocence. In the first place, it should be proclaimed in all parishes in the city and canton, that all men earnestly beseech God never to let us counsel or act contrary to His divine will; and also, if it be consistent with that divine will, to remove all victory from our enemies and bring forth the honor of His Word, as well as grant us grace to live in accordance with his will. Of course this work should begin at home; for there is need to let all the people in the city and canton know with what violence and treachery some of the Confederates have acted toward us, all which has been borne with a patient, Christian spirit, in hope

* It is printed at large in *Escher and Hottinger, fuer Schweizerische Geschichte und Landeskunde*. Bd. II. S. 263 ff.

of a change for the better; that now no choice is left but to defend ourselves in a knightly fashion, or else to renounce God and His Word; and that it is the determination of the good city of Zurich to lose everything: state, goods, town, country, body and life, rather than abandon the truth she has professed. Each and every district ought to be commanded, in case any one is not willing thus seriously and honestly to stand by the Word of God, the city and the canton, to notify him in the beginning, that he must go off in three days under suitable conditions. But whoever has courage enough to pledge soul, honor, life and property to God's Word and the city of Zurich, to him shall be said that you have received such and such counsels, and that you yourselves act wholly for God, and will protect yourselves and Him from all harm." These counsels now follow. They furnish proofs of his knowledge of foreign and domestic relations as well as the arts of political life and stratagems of war. He afterward shows how they ought to conduct themselves toward the Emperor, France, other neighbors, every canton of the Confederacy, their allies and the common territories. He unfolds the advantages of striking the first blow, of surprises in war; he enters even into the nature and use of various kinds of weapons. But then, he concludes: "These crude and smoke-stained plans I have hastily brought together for the sake of certain violent and dishonest persons, who, beyond all propriety and in the teeth of the Federal Compact, threaten the good city of Zurich with war. Still, I have an undoubting hope that Almighty God will not let the pious people of the Confederacy suffer for the treachery of a few, nor permit us thus to sit in judgment on each other. I have prayed from the bottom of my heart, that he will defend his city in some other way than the one here pointed out, and cause the pious, common people to dwell peacefully together in one Confederacy." How deeply concerned he was in guiding the ship of state is clear from the

fact, that in this same sketch he even designates the individuals, who might be safely entrusted with the command of the different batalions as well as with seats in the council of war, adding, it is true: "But a muster can hurt nobody." From such labors he hurried off to write letters to theologians, to study the Holy Scriptures, to mount the pulpit, to draw up ecclesiastical regulations and formulas of worship. Only such a man was able to carry out the Reformation in a free state. Instead of condemning him, we must keep this steadily in view, and be careful not to form our judgment according to the ideas of the nineteenth, but of the sixteenth century.

Over against this activity of the Reformed, that of the Catholic party now developed itself in silence, but with no less energy. This became manifest at the close of the year 1529. At the same time the adherents of the Reformation had already gained so great a preponderance in Glarus, that there, as in Bern, the sealed promise, given to the Five Cantons, of fidelity to the old faith could no longer be upheld as a law of the land. A number of parishes in the Thurgau and the valley of the Rhine had applied to Zurich for Evangelical preachers. In spite of the *landvogt* of the Five Cantons, who had gone to prevent them, they made their appearance there, and the church-regulations of Zurich were introduced under the very eyes of the Catholic envoys. The Toggenburgers also, through the undeniable influence of Zwingli, rose up against the ecclesiastical supremacy of their liege-lord, the Abbot of St. Gall. He, sick and deserted by a portion of the members of his convent, had been carried to Rorschach, whilst the burghers of the city began more freely to exercise a control and gradually to assume the command in the monastery, and even in the cathedral. In Graubuenden, the Abbot of St. Lucien, one of the most powerful supports of the Bishops and the Catholic party, had been executed for bribery and criminal intrigues, and in Schœnnis,

in the very presence of a threatening embassy from Schwyz, the wooden images of the Saints were brought out into the street. "See," cried the excited youth to them, "here is the road to Schwyz; here to Glarus; here Zurich. Choose which you will take; you have a safe-conduct. If you cannot travel, you must burn." When the Catholic rulers wished to avenge this outrage, the burghers of Wesen sought aid from Zurich, which, because she had no jurisdiction in that region, was denied them.

If the Reformation should continue to spread in this way, what was left for the Five Cantons, except to throw open at last their own territory for its entrance, or, surrounded by opponents, to see themselves overwhelmed in case of war, and reduced, perhaps, to the most fearful want by the obstruction of commerce? Under these circumstances many, whose ideas of affairs were just, gradually yielded, and what had for a long time been secretly hoped for by a few, an alliance with their powerful neighbor, Austria, who likewise remained loyal to the faith, found increasing favor among the rulers of the people. On the 14th of February, 1529, deputies of the Five Cantons met the Austrian authorities at Feldkirch. Whether they had invited them thither, as a historian of Luzern informs us, or whether, as said by several reporters of the opposite party, one of whom was himself present as a spy, the suit of the Austrian counsellors at first failed through the great coldness with which it was received by the Confederates, can scarcely be ascertained now. The records afford no proof for either view. In the meantime, a draught of a mutual treaty was made, which, if approved by the Archduke Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, as well as by the Councils and parishes of the Five Cantons, was to be published and ratified as a definitive alliance in Waldshut. This took place in April, and in the same month King Ferdinand himself handed over a copy of the docu-

ment to the Diet of the collective states assembled in Baden, with the explanation that the alliance was intended neither to aggrieve, nor attack or injure, but simply to protect the old, true faith, to uphold peace and order, and was open to every Christian government, which desired to enter it. At the same time, the Zurichers and Bernese must have clearly seen, that it was a counter-part, and a suspicious one, of the Christian *Buergerrecht*. On the side of the Reformed only one imperial city came forward, whilst on that of the Catholics stood the mightiest of the neighboring states, and that with articles capable of a far wider application than any in the Christian *Buergerrecht*. They commenced by declaring, that every reform in matters of faith, yea even the representation of the necessity of such a thing was interdicted in the territories of the allies, and that whosoever "would undertake to raise up and form new lawless sects among the people," he should be taken by the magistracy, supported of course by the allies, and punished "in honor, body and life, or according to the form laid down for that crime." What was now to be done in the territories held by Zurich and Bern in common with the Five Cantons? Could the former permit the inhabitants, who wished for reform and sought aid for its introduction, to be punished by the *vogts* (bailiffs) perhaps with fire and sword, merely because their religious convictions were not those of a part of their rulers? Then the possibility of a war, even within the limits of the Confederacy, was expressly provided for, and in that event the Austrian quota was to be 6,000 foot-soldiers, 400 horsemen and a supply of artillery. Other associates beyond the Confederacy had likewise permission to join the alliance and "march against the enemy and rebels within, in full force and at their charges." Finally, what was afterward regarded as an act of special injustice to the cities of Zurich and Bern and the chief cause of the unhappy turn of the religious war, the prohibition of the necessities

of life was made also a principle of this alliance, a lawful mode of fighting, and preferred and recommended in case strife should break out.

As soon as the two cities had received certain information that the alliance was concluded, before the documents were yet delivered to the Diet by King Ferdinand, they instituted a convention of the collective cantons, not embraced in the alliance. All, with the exception of Freiburg, were present at it. A resolution was now passed to send an embassy to Luzern and into the Five Cantons, praying for the abandonment of a connection, which would necessarily shake the Confederacy to its very foundations. This embassy of the seven states was joined by delegates from the allied cities of St. Gall, Chur, Muehlhausen and Biel.

But the animosity of the parties had already grown to such a height that little was to be hoped for from conciliatory measures. Still many were found on both sides, who continued to favor peaceful counsels and desire a dispassionate, and, above all, a national discussion of the questions at issue. Some months previous to this, the Council at Zug had written to that of Zurich: They were not willing to believe in the rumor of hostile intentions against the Zurichers and designs of pillage among the peasantry on the further side of Lake Zurich; then the letter proceeds—"for we have observed with great pleasure, what friendly intercourse exists between our people and yours, who lie together on the borders. So would we also act toward you, and spare neither day nor night to bring about peace, reconciliation and unity." Bern discovered a similar kind disposition among her Catholic neighbors in Entlebuch "Every day"—it was written to the bailiff and commons of that place—"the people of the Emmenthal speak of the friendly manner in which you have behaved toward them, and how you lately cast into prison one who defamed us. For this, accept

our hearty thanks. And although much may have been said to you, how we perhaps intended to compel you or others to embrace the new faith, as it is called, we freely declare that we never thought of such a thing, and would do it on no account, for faith is the gift of God alone; but if any one would force us from our resolution, we must defend it, as those who are bound always to give an answer for our faith according to the Holy Scripture." In Luzern itself, even among individual members of the government, a friendly feeling was still found by the envoys of Zurich, who in the beginning of the year were sent thither to lay complaints against Thomas Murner. They wrote from this city to the Council at Zurich: "It is the common talk at Luzern that the peasantry, who border on us and the Bernese, are so well content with their neighbors, that there is nothing like it, and they say together that they will have no war with each other, but mutually agree to pledge their persons and their services and not trouble themselves about religion." This was also confirmed by Von Knonau, the Zurichan *landvogt*.

Relying on this spirit, which still survived, at least among a portion of the people even in the other Catholic cantons, a full statement was drawn up, to be laid by envoys before the Councils, and if permitted, before the general assemblies (*landgemeinen*) of the Five Cantons. "No doubt," so it ran, "there is still, dear Confederates, many a good honest man among you, who may justly consider what injury, reproach and danger to us all and our common fatherland must spring from such an alliance, and into whose hands and power we will fall—those namely, who have never favored, but always hated us, and even taught their children to hate us from the cradle. Indeed, many a dwelling will become desolate, if they, who began this, persevere in their undertaking. But how can they do it, when we, on our part, yet desire to remain your true and faithful Confederates; to adhere to our treaties and oaths with you, and to prove to you

our friendship, love and duty without stint of life or property? And since many and various slanders, about our two cities Zurich and Bern, have circulated among you, as though they had made a special agreement to arm themselves against you with artillery, guns, ships, marchings and other warlike devices, placed the bell over you and used foul words to your disparagement; O do not lend a ready ear to such fables! for indeed such a thing has never entered our heart or mind, much less have we ever attempted to do it."

The reception of the embassy was of a more friendly character in Schwyz, and that before a full meeting of the general assembly. They heard the message calmly. A written answer was promised and given not without cordiality. This, however, may have been partly due to the secretary.

The event in Zug was not quite so peaceful. Open discord reigned among the counselors, a majority of whom were zealous advocates of the alliance. Admission to the general assembly (*landsgemeine*) was not granted to the deputies. We are told in their report: "They pretended they had an excitable population, and were concerned lest our presence would create great confusion; for they were much more passionate and intolerant in the assemblies than the councils." In Altorf a difference was made between Zurich and Bern; between the decided cantons and those that were more accommodating.—The former were thanked; the latter, and Zurich especially, were charged with interfering in matters of faith, where they had no business so to do. Of the new faith, they said: "Would to God it were buried!" Then an attempt was made, as had been done before by Schwyz, to maintain it as a principle in the government of the Common Territories, that even in ecclesiastical affairs the majority of votes among the ruling cantons should decide. Of all the points at issue this was the most difficult. Over it the strife continually broke out anew.—

Proudly and piously spoke the Luzerners: They would follow their forefathers in everything, in adherence to the Federal Compact, and in love, but only when it did not deviate from the faith. Seditious persons now try to undermine this, as once the serpent sneaked around our first parents in Paradise. From such poison they would preserve their children and children's children. They had been prompted to do what they now did, in the face of censure, by the intrigues, embassies and negotiations of other cantons among themselves, in the territories as well as with foreigners, the defiance with which their just complaints had been met and the arming of the Zurichers. In Obwalden a very hostile disposition at last revealed itself. Here a bitterness of spirit had been left behind by the unsuccessful inroad into the Haslithal, which was essentially increased by the claims of Bern for indemnification, the sojourn of fugitive Oberlanders and the execution of Hans im Sand, who had enjoyed special favor in Obwalden. With all their efforts the mediating cantons had not yet been able to restore peace, but only to prevent the outbreak of a second war. The deputies of Obwalden and those of the Reformed cities still gave each other short words and exchanged sullen looks, when they met at the Federal Diet. But in Sarnen the most unfriendly reception awaited the embassy of the Confederates. Only the envoys of those cantons, which had not yet spoken out decidedly for the Reformation, were treated with a certain moderation, and notified that the sharp language, which must be used, had but a partial reference to them. Then the Federal Compact was revoked with all apostates from the true faith, and pity expressed that it had not been done before. They and the other Forest Cantons were the true, old Confederates, they had won the prize of liberty, they had admitted the rest of the cantons into the Confederacy. Why should these now wish to be their masters? But the Emperor, Austria, France, Savoy and Wallis

(*Valais*) will indeed help them to prevent it. A written answer was refused. On the other hand they got a sight of the escutcheons of Zurich, Bern and Basel painted on a gallows in the house of the secretary of state (*landschreiber*) and when they complained of it, the excuse was, it meant nothing,—a foolish fellow had daubed it there.

Great was the exasperation at this news, particularly in Zurich. Now openly and earnestly they set about arming themselves, refused peace beforehand without the humiliation of Obwalden, and called upon Bern by letters and an embassy not to make the least abatement in its unsettled grievances against that district, but rather to insist with redoubled zeal on satisfaction and the fullest indemnity. Indeed, Zwingli wished to go yet further. He had expressly desired, in the Privy Council, by which all the more important business of state was again disposed of, that no peace would be concluded with Obwalden, if she would not renounce all pensions, abandon the alliance with Austria and give up all the bailiwicks for a term of office. But Bern was by no means so ready for war. In the Council, jealousy or mere political shyness of the often hasty interference of Zurich, appears to have given new animation to the party opposed to her. "We are," wrote Haller to Zwingli, "as unsound as ever in our government; and though we now at Easter possess the Small and Great Councils, yet we are fearful that nothing good will be done here, because all those, who have hitherto shown themselves hostile to the Word of God, are returning to power, and if that happen, then you may expect nothing else from us, than that nothing good will be undertaken." Under seal of the strictest silence he communicated to him the fact, that in eight days at furthest no more than a crown would be found remaining in the public treasury. "If the Oberlanders knew this," he added, "do you suppose they would leave us unmolested?" It appears also, when Zurich became

still more urgent, and earnestly declared she would not suffer it, but prevent it by force of arms, if necessary, that the new *landvogt* of Baden, an Unterwaldner, entered the city on horseback about the time of the election of public officers, and an embassy from Bern with prayers for more peaceful deliberation and more moderate councils, uttered the assurance that she was less inclined than ever to such a course. "In the opinion of my Lords," said its spokesman, "it would be better yet to prevent by friendliness an unpleasant issue. They are not willing to begin war before they know more certainly the disposition of their people, who are ready for an outbreak, now when the sun shines; but when it rains, their courage falls. A part of our peasantry have concluded a formal treaty with their neighbors of Luzern not to injure one another. We would not compel them to do so. You know very well that the Word of God enjoins nothing else but peace and quiet. True, dear Confederates and Christian townsmen of Zurich, you yourselves at first desired to accomplish everything by kindness. Indeed, faith cannot be administered at the point of the spear and halberd. And then remember, the Emperor has not so much to do, that if we attempt anything, he cannot march out against us. Then we have the Wallisers (people of the canton of *Valais*) with us, who are waiting, and if we would undertake anything with the Confederates, they would march home again in an hour, even if they had to leave their beds; and who could hinder them? Lastly, there is the negotiation with the Duke of Savoy not yet settled, and we know not where we are. Therefore, we pray you, for the sake of Christ's passion, not to be so violent."

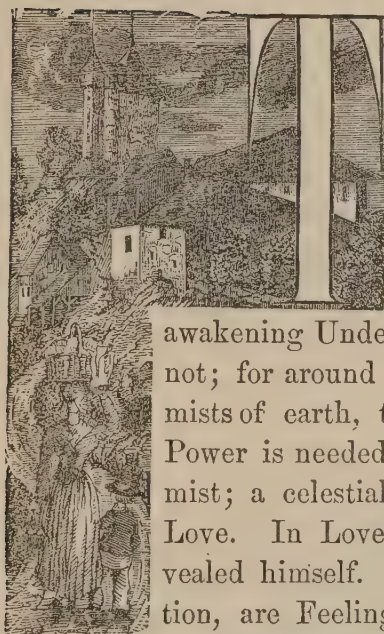
But this language availed nothing; for on the same day dreadful tidings arrived. Jacob Kaiser, surnamed the Locksmith of Uznach, the place of his birth, had a benefice and settlement given him at Neftenbach, in the canton of Zurich. Now he received a call as a preacher to Oberkirch, in Gaster

Before he resigned his former charge, he sometimes visited his new parish. Being much hated by the Schwyzers, because when pastor at the Ufnau he had declared himself strongly opposed to image-worship, the bailiff (*vogt*) in Utznach, which was under the dominion of Schwyz and Glarus, caused him to be apprehended, as he journeyed through, and brought to Schwyz.* This was done in pursuance of an order, which all the bailiffs of the Five Cantons had received, to keep an eye on innovating preachers in the Territories, and seize them, and hand them over to justice. Like an earlier victim in Schwyz, another in the Thurgau, and three preachers delivered to the bishop at Moersburg, by Catholic bailiffs of that place, Kaiser was condemned to die at the stake. In vain did Zurich intercede for him; in vain did she write more earnest letters; in vain did she send the treasurer Edlebach to Schwyz. On the day of his execution the Schwyzers answered: "The territory of Utznach belongs not to you, it is a property bought by us and our confederates of Glarus. For what we do there you have no right to call us to account. And if the parson is so dear to you as you say in your letter, then you should have kept him at home, and not suffered him to come among our people. This would have been most agreeable to us, and certainly much better for him." Such scorn and the flames of the faggot were decisive. War was determined on.

* So it is expressed in the verbal process of the Privy Council; that he was once pastor at Schwerzenbach in Greifensee, Bullinger informs us.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.

FIRST CAMPAIGN. ZWINGLI AND LUTHER.



WO primal forces live and move in man, the one more in this individual, the other more in that one; they both spring from above: Feeling and Understanding. Original, childlike Feeling is the inner law; but it does not know itself. The awakening Understanding *seeks* the law, but finds it not; for around them and between them settle the mists of earth, the smoke and vapors of passion. Power is needed to work their way up out of the mist; a celestial sun to scatter it. That sun is Love. In Love, as well as in Power, God has revealed himself. Only in the loving act, in revelation, are Feeling and Understanding able to find each other, to understand each other, and then also first to understand themselves. Now, and in this way alone, does growth in true knowledge begin. With it disunion, discord is no longer possible; all discord, even that which is internal, springs from want of knowledge. The error is most lamentable, when Feeling fears the Understanding, and the Understanding hates Feeling. This it is, which can lead to war for religion. No war for religion is permitted to end with the overthrow of one

of these. God will not have it so; for he has created Feeling and Understanding as immortal, mutually completing sisters. Did Zwingli not know this? Was he perchance a man of a one-sided understanding, imprisoned in mist, who sought knowledge in his own strength, but for this very reason was never able to discover the truth? Did he desire to subject Feeling to the Understanding, to subdue faith to the yoke of the letter—of the letter, which men invented to express *their* thoughts, whilst the Spirit, who proceeds from the Father, does not reveal himself in *words made of letters*, but in the *Word* of Love, the loving act? They tried it, who came after him, who were not able to comprehend him; but they have been shamefully wrecked with their ever swelling formulas of confession. The church of Zurich under Zwingli, and then under the *antistes* Klingler (1688–1713)—what a sad contrast! Yet here is not the place to speak of it.

Faith, that feeling of the Divine will, of the Divine revelation, transformed into knowledge, had struck its roots as deep into the nature of Zwingli as into that of Luther. Who can doubt it, when he reads thus in his Explanation of the Christian Faith, as preached by him, which in the year of his death was dedicated to the King of France: "Faith must be the source of our works. If it go before, then the work is acceptable to God. If it be wanting, then all that is done, is false, and hence not only displeasing to God, but an abomination. Therefore Paul says: "Everything, which is not of faith is sin." Now faith comes only from the Spirit of God; hence they, who have faith, look to the will of God as to a perfect rule. For this reason, not only those works, which are done contrary to the law of God, are blameable, but those also which are done without regard to it. Whatever is done thus without the law, *i. e.* with no regard to the Word and will of God, is also not done of faith; what is not done of faith is sin, and sin

God abhors. Thus it comes, that even if any one performs a work which God has commanded, giving alms for example, but without faith,* such a work is not pleasing to God; for when we go back to the source from whence the almsgiving springs, which is not done of faith, then we find that it has proceeded either from vain-glory, or a desire to receive more in return, or from some other bad motive. And who is not convinced that such a work is unacceptable to God?"†

After such expressions of the Reformer every one will be readily convinced, that Zwingli wished to create no controversy, to achieve no victory of the understanding, which only regulates and analyzes, at the expense of pious feeling.‡ That war, which can only be called religious, because the parties themselves very wrongly believed they served religion thereby, was not allowed by Christianity, as it came from the hands of its founder, not by the Church established by Him, not by the unity of this Church, unity in her Master and Exemplar abiding yet in the Gospel and the hearts of all true believers. It was actually of a political more than of a religious nature; for

* Which, according to the Gospel and Zwingli's views elsewhere unfolded, (see M. Huldr. Zwingli's Schriften im Auszug v. Usteri und Væglin, Bd. I. Abth. 2, S. 387,) is *one* with Love.

† For the German translation of this passage from the Latin of Zwingli, the author was indebted to the above-mentioned work of Usteri and Væglin.

‡ All activity of the understanding is in its nature formal. Hence in order to pass over into reality, if it would become more than an *exercise* of the mind, which can be endlessly prolonged, it needs positive material. As soon as it transcends the positive and enters the region of so-called pure ideas, the dominion of the intellect, it runs into nothing, becomes a negation. The natural consequence of this *dominion* of the intellect, of which many now dream, is the popular doctrine: "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." To this the very wisest legislation of *all* nations has given too little attention.

a church which exercises temporal authority, whose heads rule over land and people, set up compulsory dogmas of faith and deliver to judgment those, who do not submit to them, is also a political, a worldly power. Or ought we regard the nuncios, who drive along in carriages drawn by four horses, to be received by the thunder of cannon, as apostles, when Christ would send them forth, staff in hand, without money, without change of raiment?

Proceeding from this stand-point, Zwingli saw in the war, which he himself undoubtedly advised, only a political conflict. On the one side appeared to him, imbued as he was with the idea of a purely spiritual kingdom of God and Christ, a worldly power defending itself not by the lawful, yea, necessary weapons of science and sound judgment, but by anathemas and the flames of the faggot, and on the other, those who wished to attain and defend liberty, without which neither a religion of the heart nor of the head, nor a faith matured to conviction by the agreement of both, was possible. With this feeling he wrote to his friend in Bern: "The peace, about which many now talk so much, is war; the war, which I wish, peace. There can be no security either for the truth, or her worshippers, till the ground-pillars of tyranny be overthrown. Do not lose confidence in me, because I must say this. With God's help I will prove myself worthy of it." But, even if the question, according to the judgment of the Reformer, was fairly one of an external, political nature, when logically carried out, it would take the form of opinion in some, or of principle in others. Yet never will such questions be solved by weapons of iron. The blind iron usually wounds the principle for which it was drawn out, and its defender first. "Put up thy sword in its sheath," said Christ to Peter, "for they, who take the sword, shall perish by the sword;" and for Zwingli it was a prophetic word. Only for material interests, lying equally before the eyes

of all the world; only when the duty of fighting against the violation of national treaties or human laws, or else for upholding them, does true policy take up the sword, and in this respect the statesmanship of Bern seems more prudent; yea, more in harmony with the Federal Compact, than that of Zurich. But there are moments in the lives of nations, when prudence will no longer avail, and energetic action, even passionate endeavor, becomes a necessity. In such cases each one has to appeal to his own conviction of duty, and his justification lies in his willingness to sacrifice himself therefor. Over the corpse of the noble victim, the censuring voice of posterity is silent.

He, who accompanies the Reformer with undiminished sympathy along his path, which from this time forth becomes more and more slippery, will find the truth of what has been said. The grand achievement, which he desired, perhaps rather anticipated—the formation of a strong league in the midst of Europe, controlling extremes; a league of concord, and yet of the free developement of individual members in their peculiar customs and forms of government; united by the spiritual bond of a common faith, of a common *submission to the Gospel*, embraced with a pure mind and *carried out in practice*; satisfying the understanding and contenting the heart; one in *its aim* of worshipping God; diverse in *its mode*, according to the usage and wants of the country; tolerating philosophical as little as dogmatical dictators; repudiating alike the Propaganda and the Jesuits; a league whose members are not exclusive like Jews, but helpful like Christians—the nineteenth century can see it realized, if in its free presses a manly openness is able to triumph over wholesale robbery and keep down human devilishness, as well as the spirit of hypocrisy.

On the 1st of June, a secret council was held in Zurich, to consider the outrage of the Schwyzers. Some wished to prohibit the exportation of provisions, others to revoke the treaties, and

a third party to declare war without delay. The last course was adopted by the Great Council on the 3d of June, and the tidings sent to Schwyz in the following language: "Our greeting first! Pious, circumspect, wise, should our good friends and faithful, dear Confederates be! Your haughty and defiant letter we have received and considered, and though you accuse us therein of not keeping covenant with you, we think we have done it as faithfully and better than you have heretofore; than you, who have persecuted, unjustly punished, given into other hands, violently and unrighteously dragged beyond the jurisdiction and laws, which belonged to us as well as you, miserably tortured and killed many an honest man merely for asserting his faith and maintaining the honor of God, by which we and our people, who are pious, honest Christians, if God will, have also been greatly and severely injured, reviled and shamfully abused, as to our honor and old, praiseworthy customs; ill-treated in a wanton manner without cause, surrounded, beaten, defied, and a pious priest under our protection, whom it became us to save, pounced upon beyond your jurisdiction, carried off in a scornful, unjust fashion, before God and to our great displeasure, burned to death for adhering to God's Word, since you had no other charge against him. Because now you have always suffered such outrages and injuries to pass by without punishment, because you have despised all our warnings and embassies, publicly transgressing in many instances the Articles of Confederation, and because we see that no justice can be hoped for from you, we are obliged, in order to rescue and maintain the Divine truth, its honor and ours, to chastise you for such wantonness, injustice and violence with our own hand, in the strength of God, and intend also, with as much strength and grace as God gives us, to take vengeance on you without mercy. But we have warned you of it and kept our honor. Thus you can understand the motives of our action; you yourselves de-

sired nothing else, since you have provoked us to this course by your violence and gross injustice." In consequence of the threatened passage of the bailiff (*vogt*) of Unterwalden that way to Baden, Bern was written to: That the friendly exhortation to moderate measures had come too late. They had certain intelligence that Unterwalden intended to escort her *landvogt* to Baden with an armed force. Bern must not permit this according to her own solemn declaration. And she is there strongly besought to join the Zurichers, now promptly rising in self-defence.

But Bern, for some time back, had been endeavoring, principally through Luzern, to bring Unterwalden into a more peaceful humor. She had not yet put any troops under arms, and had received information from the Five Cantons that they too would not be the first to do it. Hans Edlebach, who was sent to Lenzburg, to hasten the march of the expected contingent, had to suffer bitter reproaches from the *landvogt* and the Bernese residing there: Was it prudent to begin war during such a famine? Was it like a Confederate, not to suffer the law first to take its course? Was it fair dealing toward Bern, to rise up against every warning, and without giving her notice beforehand? Zurich may now bring to an end alone what she has commenced alone. To this the Zurichers wrote in reply: "We would sooner have expected death, than that your aid should have failed us up to this time; what guilt will rest upon you, if calamity overtake us?" But Zurich was in no wise hindered by this delay, and the declaration of the Bernese immediately following, that though they would now march out, it was only for the support of their ally and not to encourage the war. One division of troops was sent to Bremgarten and Muri: another placed at the west end of the lake to hold Schwyz in check, whilst another marched under Jacob Werdmueller to the country lying around Rapperschweil, so that the Toggen-

burgers, the people of Gaster, and the evangelical portion of the Glarners might be encouraged to join them. To his countrymen of Toggenburg Zwingli was particularly favorable. "Dear comrade," he wrote to his friend Werdmueller, "I hope the Toggenburgers will not fail, yet hasten to communicate with the town-clerk of Lechstensteg; for a general assembly to consult about affairs was held on Wednesday, the 9th day of June. Take care and keep the advice secret. If you act against Toggenburg, you must not speak of taking possession of the country, for they will not suffer such a thing, having some time since made themselves free by their military power." Less consideration was shown toward the Thurgau. Lavater, the bailiff (*vogt*) of Kyburg received orders to occupy the territory for Zurich, with the reservation of the rights of Glarus, and notify the inhabitants that the Five Cantons would be allowed no share in the government without their own consent, which was an open violation of existing treaties, and founded on the right of conquest. The chief force, consisting of 4,000 picked men, well armed and provided with numerous guns, marched under George Berger to the borders of Zug. Berger had served in Italy with honor. He maintained severe discipline in the army. Idle women, who usually followed the Swiss expeditions in great crowds, were not suffered here. On the other hand, in spite of the scarcity just then prevailing, an abundant stock of provisions was furnished; a good spirit prevailed among the soldiery. It was a long time since Zurich had displayed such power. From the steps of the senate-house the burgomaster Walder exhorted the departing troops to discipline and a fearless defence. Commander Schmied was appointed army-chaplain. Without a summons from the government Zwingli rode along, a halberd on his shoulder. The report of the outbreak, Zurich's declaration of war, communicated to the Four Cantons by Schwyz, set them also in motion. Flying appeals went out at

the same time from Zug. First, volunteers hastened thither; then came the militia of Schwyz, of Uri, of Unterwalden—the latter well armed and particularly eager for war. Messengers were despatched to Waldshut and Feldkirch for Austrian aid.

The Zurichers halted at Cappel. A declaration of war was also made against the Five Cantons. It resembled that against Schwyz, but with an additional reference to the doings of the Unterwaldners and to the Austrian alliance. On the morning of the 9th it was sent to Zug, and directly after the Zurichan force, strengthened by new accessions, took up the line of march. They had not yet crossed the boundaries of the canton, when the *landamman* *Æbli* came up against them from Baar. He was a man of irreproachable character, a leader of the people in his canton, esteemed and beloved by the Confederates, trained in the school of life, keeping in view the wants of the present, but both by education and disposition unfitted for scientific and religious controversy. As related by Bullinger, who was an eye-witness, this man begged “the Lords of Zurich with tearful eyes; begged them as strongly as he could, for God’s sake and that of the whole Confederacy, to stay quiet where they were without actual operations and approach, till he would return again in the course of a few hours; for he had good hopes, by the aid of other honorable, honest people, who also were in a fair way to separate, with the help of God’s grace, to make an honorable peace, which would redound to the good of the Confederacy; besides, great bloodshed would be avoided and no poor widows and orphans made; for this, he trusted in the Holy Gospel, which teaches us peace, love and unity. Moreover, he had also found a moderate, friendly opinion in the Five Cantons, that it would be a great calamity, if one confederate would wretchedly kill the other, when their forefathers so often and closely pledged together their persons, property and blood; and a like opinion existed here among those, who had

suffered much pain and injury in war. We ought not, said he, grant such pleasure to the foes and enemies of our common country. He, therefore, most earnestly plead only for some hours to do his best to prevent the sad dismemberment of the Confederacy.

Discordant views prevailed amongst the Zurichers. Yet the majority were won over by this true-hearted, patriotic speech. After a short deliberation, the leaders declared themselves ready to halt, and a courier was dispatched to Zurich for instructions. But Zwingli approached the *landamman*, who had formerly been one of his most intimate friends in Glarus, with the words: "Dear *amman*, thou wilt be obliged to account to God for this peace. Now, whilst our enemies are in our power and unprepared you give them good words. Thou believest them, and holdest back. Hereafter, when they are prepared, they will not make peace with us; who then will separate us?" "Dear comrade," replied the *amman*, "I trust in God. He will make all right. Act always for the best."

The brief truce, which now followed, was diligently used by both parties. The Catholics brought together their chief force in the country of Baar. Auxiliaries from Wallis (*Valais*), Livinen and the valley of the Esch joined them. Their little army swelled to eight thousand. That of the Zurichers was strengthened from the Thurgau and St. Gall. A third just as important, that of the Bernese aided by Basel, Biel and Muehlhausen, under the *schultheiss* Von Diesbach, had reached Bremgarten. Full thirty thousand men, unlike in view and disposition, stood under arms. The Confederate policy was in the camp of the Bernese. "We will attack the aggressor," said they, "wherever he comes from. We will suffer no war, till all lawful remedies are exhausted." They had written the same to Zurich, where hurrying envoys from Glarus, Appenzel, the Three Cantons, Solothurn and Freiburg arrived every hour

with plans for a settlement of the difficulties. Bern had also convoked at Aarau, a diet for the whole Confederacy. Even from Strasburg the Mayor Sturm had come as a mediator. A spirit of peace began to pervade the opposing camps. Besides, many were anxious to return home. They thought of their agricultural labor, which in the month of June was particularly needful. The necessity for shedding blood had not yet stirred the feelings of the multitude. Neighbors of the different confessions still held intercourse with each other. The out-posts had agreed not to injure each other; one party looked on the peaceful sports of the other at the ring and the hurling of stones. That beautiful feature of old Swiss cordiality was manifested, when milk was brought from one side, bread from the other, and the hostile warriors, with jokes over the limits to be guarded, ate the common food from *one* vessel. It drew an exclamation of surprise from the Mayor of Strasburg, who witnessed it.

According to old usage, when the militia had marched out, the Council of Zurich gave over to the commons-at-war (*kriegsgemeinde*) the instruction of the negotiators at the Diet in Aarau. There was one man particularly to whom this was little pleasing, who apprehended evil results—Ulric Zwingli. Should all the fruits of his earnest endeavor, all the hopes for evangelical freedom, involved in this breach, be lost? He feared a too ready compliance. “Gracious, loving Lords,” he wrote, “our messengers come in again this moment. I observe indeed how the matter stands. They now give good words, and pray and beg. But do not be misled, and regard no wry faces, but command us, beforehand, to act with earnestness, not to surrender our advantage, but to accept only a solid peace; for no one can give better words than these people, and when we are out of the field, they will return in one month and attack us. For God’s sake act boldly. By my life, I desire not to mislead you, nor give way

myself. One cannot write everything. Stand fast in God. Yield nothing to wry faces, till the right is established. God be with you. In haste, in haste!"

After this he did his utmost in the camp at Cappel, so that the treasurer, Rudolph Thumaisen, the deputy to Aarau, was instructed to demand positively, liberty to preach the Gospel everywhere in the Territories, the abrogation of the Alliance with Austria, the abjuration of all pensions and the punishment of those, who would propogate and dispense them, the costs of the war and indemnification for the children of the martyred Jacob Kaiser. Meanwhile in Aarau the continuance of the armistice only was determined on, and the prosecution of the negotiations by arbitrators in the vicinity of the camps transferred to Steinhausen, in the canton of Zug.

It had been previously said, that the commons-at-war (*landsgemeinden*) should themselves hear the complaints and arguments of the opposing parties. The leaders and deputies of the army of the Five Cantons made the beginning in the camp of the Zurichers. An eye-witness, Kessler of St. Gall, has given the following graphic picture of the event. It is here told in his own words: "Now, at the request of the Five Cantons, it was appointed, that, on the next Monday, a committee should come over from their camp into ours, in order to interrogate each other as well as the friendly arbitrators. So a high scaffolding was raised upon barrels in the field before Cappel. On this was placed the banner of Zurich, with all the ensigns and officers then encamped at Cappel, and around the scaffolding stood the common soldiers. After the committee of the Five Cantons, thirty in number, had been conducted over by the Zurichan trumpeter, the umpires approached; one rose after the other on the scaffold, speaking to the army and exhorting them to hold fast the purpose to submit on both sides to a friendly and moderate treaty of peace, seeing not only the sorrow, the misery and the

great damage and ruin, that must accrue to us from this present misunderstanding, if it should come to the shedding of blood; but on the other hand, also, the great joy that would arise among our foreign hereditary enemies; and that nothing else can at last result from it, but that we, weakened by our own discord, will be the more easily conquered and ruled by those enemies, for whom, when united, we were always strong enough. Besides, the great dislike of the people of Germany and other countries, during our campaigns there, must be considered; and if our poor widows and orphans are left, what scanty crusts of bread will be doled out to them. Therefore, we implore you, for God's sake, to make peace with each other like faithful, pious Confederates, who, in times past, have fought and suffered so much together. Hereupon, Captain Escher of Zurich stood forward, and disclosed in general and special to the deputies of the Five Cantons the cause and articles of the war now declared against them, reviewing with sharp words their unkind, shameful and scandalous doings so long persisted in, but which could henceforth be no longer endured or suffered, consistently with justice and honor. After this, the deputies, gentlemen and captains of the Five Cantons rose up; among the first *schultheiss* Hug of Luzern; and each gave answer to the articles and the accusation touching his Lords. Nevertheless, something should be done. They desired that every effort should be made to bring about a lasting peace, lest, as was before said by the arbitrators, we might be compelled to murder and destroy each other. But so far as might be, they desired a just settlement, promising to abide thereby. Then it was proposed to retire a little out of the crowd to a particular spot; and the captains and the commons conferred among themselves, and decided that a committee of the same number as theirs should be sent into the camp of the Five Cantons, to disclose to the common soldiery, the business, which had not yet reached

them. There were present also Master Ulric Zwingli, Master Conrad Schmied, the commander, chosen preachers from the city and canton of Zurich, men wholly inclined to purge the Confederacy from all unfairness, unrighteousness and pride, and restore piety and honor. When his turn came, Master Ulric spake very plainly, that they who were there might understand, declaring that the cold apology of the Five Cantons and their appeals to the law, which before this had been little regarded by them, reminded him of condemned criminals, who when led to punishment cried out for justice, in order to prolong their lives. Then he spoke of the sin, the danger and the injury springing from the pensions, undeservedly taken from kings and princes, countries and people, and addressed the aforementioned *schultheiss*, Hug, by name: It is well known what he is and has been for years, and whence he has been enriched by so many thousand crowns; they are earnestly exhorted to put it away, else peace, quiet and unity would never be seen in the Confederacy."

With milder words Escher sought to allay the rising discontent of the deputies of the Five Cantons, who, after a notice that the leaders of the Zurichers should remember to appear also before their commons-at-war, withdrew and were honorably conducted out of the camp.

Rain in torrents, as it fell abundantly during this summer, poured down on the following day, the fifteenth of June. The overflowing of the Loretz prevented any meeting. On the sixteenth, with clearing skies and glad sunshine, fifteen of the most prominent Zurichers, to whom several people from the country were added, rode over into the camp of the Five Cantons.

Here also, as with the Zurichers, the reception took place amid warlike display and the thunder of cannon. The leaders affirmed that more than 12,000 men were under arms. They

stood well drawn up; defiance in every face. The Unterwaldners were particularly well armed, partly with bows and partly in heavy coats of mail. Hans Escher opened the discussion, glad of the opportunity to represent in its true light the misapprehended cause of Zurich before so large an assembly of Confederates. First, he read aloud a detailed list of grievances, published by the government itself. "All this," he then continued, "we would have borne for the sake of the common peace, but when your rulers concluded an alliance with you power, which your own forefathers have always considered their most dangerous enemy, and which is now, perhaps more than ever, ours, how could we keep quiet any longer? Still, we were not the first to march out. The Unterwaldners took up arms before, to place their *vogt* in Baden. Our troops, when they came to Muri, found a meal prepared for them. Yet we do not wish to deal in mutual crimination to our own injury, but rather to favor the liberty, which we have inherited from our fathers, or what is the welfare of all, according to the Gospel to which we adhere, the restoration of the old Confederate pledges, which, as we ask them from you, we are also willing and ready to give to our Confederates." The country-people supported the speech of the citizen. Upon many of the hearers the impression was evidently good, for a general belief prevailed among the Catholics, that the country-people of Zurich had only submitted to the Reformation with reluctance. Others, on the contrary, thought the grievances in the paper of the Zurich Council exaggerated. "When have we refused you justice?" said they. "How often have you appealed to us in vain?"—"Yes," rejoined the treasurer Funk, an active young man, and one of Zwingli's warmest adherents—"we know your ways of doing justice. That unhappy pastor made an appeal and you referred him to the executioner." The rash word was spoken. "Funk! you had better been silent," one of his

companions called out to him. A fearful tumult arose; the troops put themselves in motion. The more considerate warned the Zurichers to retire without delay, and secured them by a detailed escort.

The negotiation continued in Steinhausen and the Zurichan camp. The issue lay in the hands of the Bernese. Without them, Zurich was no longer able to carry on the war. The favorable moment had passed. Time had been given to the Five Cantons to gather and strengthen their army. The sight of their collective force raised the courage of individuals. In numbers they were not inferior to the Zurichers; surpassed them rather. And then, they beheld an abundance of provisions in the Zurichan camp, whilst in theirs, and at home in their vallies, want and famine prevailed, on account of the prohibition against importation. The assurance of this accessible and needful booty whetted their thirst for combat. To know that the power of deciding lay with the present leaders of the Bernese, made the prospect intolerable to Zwingli. He found in the *schultheiss* Diesbach, their general, a lukewarm friend of the Reformation, and in him and most of the others advocates, rather than opposers, of pension-taking. The latter practice found such special favor among the Bernese councilors that even Nicholas Manuel, otherwise one of the most powerful heads of the Evangelical party, declared before the assembly of the Zurichan leaders in the camp at Cappel, that Zwingli's demand on the Five Cantons for the abolition of pensions need expect no support from Bern. This drew angry words from the Reformer: "Well then! we can put the question to the whole commons-at-war; we can also send an embassy to Bern herself, to learn how the city and canton think. I know it and can prove it by writings, which I promise to produce, that that people, as well as ours, abhor pensions. Who maintain them? Some great families, who live by them."—"It will come to

this," replied Hans Escher, "we must first put questions everywhere; the councils of leaders are no longer of any account; one has just as much to say as another; squire and knight, common man and captain; now, let all, for my sake, cry out at once; then at least we will be done with the matter; if we ourselves cannot strike because of discord, then let the others strike." Zwingli confessed that he had gone too far, and smothered his chagrin. He had hoped for a victory of principles, but now saw only the possibility of a temporary compromise, achieved by political arts. The men, from whom there was nothing to hope in support of the Reformation, in one canton, and everything to fear in regard to the others, stood at the helm and saw their power continually secured by foreign influence and foreign gold. He beheld the times coming, when the old Adam would again awaken in Zurich herself. Earlier or later, the seed sown, so he foreboded, must be again stifled and the tender fruit sunk under the rank growth of sprouting weeds.

Meanwhile the arbitrators in Steinhausen did all they could, and when Bern used just as decided language against the Five Cantons as against Zurich, then a treaty was formed, with which the statesmen of the latter canton said they would be satisfied. First of all, the Territories were to be left to their own free choice in matters of religion; to declare for one system or the other. The alliance with King Ferdinand was to be abolished and its documents annihilated. Doctor Murner was to be arraigned before the Confederates in Baden, to answer for defamation of Zurich and Bern. These were the chief articles. What the Five Cantons should pay as costs of the war, and indemnification to the surviving family of Jacob Kaiser, was left to the arbitrators to determine afterward. But Zurich and Bern were expressly empowered, if the conditions binding on the Five Cantons were not fulfilled, to con-

tinue the interdict against the exportation of provisions, until they would comply. It was simply uttered as a wish that the Five Cantons would also abolish pensions.

The leaders of the armies communicated the rough draft of the treaty to their several governments. In Bern it was received with universal joy. "We permit you," wrote the government to her members in the field, "to omit, in the affair of the Unterwaldners, whatever might waken strife anew, be it so far only as is consistent with our honor. It is hoped; being now again united, as was necessary, we will be able to bestow a glance on our foreign enemies. Henceforth no more strangers, be they Burgundians, Netherlanders, Austrians, Lorrainers or others should be allowed to threaten our borders with impunity. We should, after the manner of our fathers, defend ourselves. Sound the Five Cantons and tell us, if they would refuse to arm." Just this, meanwhile, was the most difficult point. Under various pretexts they tried to put off the delivery of the deeds of the Austrian alliance. Then Zurich ordered those of her militia, who were already prepared for a return home, to stay, and called back others, who had marched off. The arbitrators begged. The Bernese threatened; the banneret, Peter im Haag, said: "If the document be not produced immediately, we will fetch it in procession." At last, on the 25th of June, about 2 o'clock in the night, it was brought to Cappel. What further happened, is related by Thomas Platter, an eye-witness, in these words: "As every one was now up, they came together into a room, and the *amman* of Glarus took the document; for he had all along been the chief umpire. He gave it to a scribe to open; it was terribly broad and long; the like I have never seen, and I think it had nine seals on it; one large one, that was golden. Then the scribe began and read a long preface of titles, such as one reads on the square at Basel, on St. John's day; after that, the Five Cantons, also, under the titles by

which they are known. They had made a league. Then the *amman* struck his hand upon the document and said: 'It is enough.' Then one behind me, who was doubtless a Zurich, cried out: 'Read the thing through, that we may hear how traitorously they would have dealt with us.' The *amman* turned to him and spake: 'How! read it through? You must hack me into little pieces first, before I will suffer it.' Therewith he laid the document together and said: 'You are alas! without this, too highly exasperated against each other; take a little knife, first cut off the seals, and then slit the parchment into long strips, give it to the scribe in a little cap, that he may throw it into the fire.' What became of the seals I do not know."

Joyfully the Zurichers marched to their homes; Zwingli with anxiety in his heart. He gave utterance to it in the following verses, which he also set to music:

Now mount the chariot, O Lord,
We know not where to go.
Thy hand must now uplift the sword
And smite the haughty foe.

God, for thy honor and our land
Blast Satan's progeny,
And teach thy faithful flock to stand
Ever more firm in Thee.

To bitter strife, O put an end!
And waken love anew;
Kind hearts to parted brethren send,
Old feelings warm and true.

The *Landfriede* (General Peace) was concluded; quiet appeared to be restored in the Confederacy. Then a foreign country laid claim to the Swiss Reformer. In the spring of 1529, the majority of the princes and cities, assembled at the Imperial Diet in Spire, endeavored to check the progress of the Reformation

in Germany, by stringent resolutions. Conflicting doctrines in regard to the Lord's Supper especially should not be allowed. No more ecclesiastical innovations were to be permitted until approved at an ecumenical council. Those States of the Empire, which were already inclined to the Gospel, entered protests against this compulsory act, and received thence the name of Protestants. The most active of these Protestants was the *landgrave* Philip of Hesse. Resolved to carry through the rising opposition, even against the Emperor himself if necessary, he directed his chief attention to the maintenance and establishment of concord among the Protesters themselves. Although the Confederates, from the nature of their special compacts (*buende*) and their struggles after national independence, had actually more and more torn loose from connection with the German Empire, they were still always formally counted as belonging to it,—indeed, said so themselves, whenever it suited their advantage. But, just before the election of the then reigning Emperor, the Diet, in the name of the collective cantons, wrote a complimentary letter to the Electoral Princes, under cover of the privilege due to them as members of the Empire. Now also the resolutions of the Imperial Diet were communicated by the Emperor, and a demand made upon them for their execution. It is easy to imagine that the Protestant Princes would strive likewise to gain them over to their party. Philip of Hesse especially, looked toward Zurich and Zwingli. Early in April, he had addressed him from Spire. He desired a personal interview. At the same time it might serve to heal the dispute between the Saxon and Swiss Reformers, which had taken a disagreeable turn, and contributed more than anything else to make the cause of the Gospel suspicious in the eyes of the Catholics, yea, even hateful to them. The chief obstacle in the way of an understanding lay in the manner of seeking it—by a general formula, a declaration drawn up in words,

though the Gospel itself did not contain such a thing. Few in that age had the sound judgment of the later *landgrave*, William of Hesse, who, in the year 1566, wrote to Bullinger: "What Christ, the Chief Schoolmaster, has not seen fit to explain, we men should not undertake to explain for ourselves."

That Christ, offering himself up in love, would continue to live in all the members of his church to the remotest ages, and so declared at the last breaking of bread and pouring out of wine in the circle of his disciples, must be clear to every reader of the Gospel. *Whether* and *how* he continues to live in them, deeds only can show: the confession of the heart, not that of the lips, which Christ himself does not require of us.

But when, in spite of this, such a thing was required, it was necessarily apprehended in a plainer sense by some of the Reformers, and in a more profound one by others, according to the individual peculiarities; at the same time it was regarded as more free or more binding according to the spirit of the the nations and the governments, which they represented. This will best appear from the history viewed in its connection.

It has already been intimated in this work that the mass, in view of its significance and determining power, forms the ground-work of the *cultus*, or form of worship in the Catholic Church. Yet Catholic writers themselves have admitted and publicly expressed it, that, long before the Reformation, dangerous ideas concerning the mass prevailed among the people, which, fostered designedly by the clergy, and even by the Popes, led to great abuses, being employed, through the founding of masses for souls, to entice immense sums of money from pious superstition. We may suppose, that the Reformers turned their attention chiefly to these abuses, and first of all were obliged to attain for themselves a right view of the design of the Lord's Supper. According to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, the bread and wine were changed, by the consecration

of the priest, into the real body and blood of Christ, so that thus, by the transaction of the mass, the personal Christ was once more sacrificed, as it were, and in this way the redemption of mankind by the sufferings and death of Christ dwelling in the mass, was, in a certain measure, daily renewed, for the salvation of all the living, or even the departed, for whom the mass was founded.

This mode of representation was unanimously rejected by the Reformers; but in order to prove it invalid, they had to resort to explaining the words of the Gospel, and here they began to diverge more and more from each other. We all know, that Christ simply expressed himself thus: "Take, eat; this is my body, broken for you; do this in remembrance of me;" that after supper he also took the cup, saying: "This cup is the New Testament in my blood; as oft as ye drink of it, do it in remembrance of me." Zwingli, with his searching glance, his methods of examination, strengthened by the study of the lively, vigorous authors of antiquity, his penetration into the spirit of language and his dislike to everything contrary to the course of nature, ordained by God himself, soon arrived at a mere allegorical exposition of these words, and understood by the expression, *This is*, simply, *This signifies*. But he did not entertain this view alone. Before he ventured to utter it publicly, a Dutch jurist, Cornelius Horn, had actually done it. Zwingli caused his work to be printed in Switzerland, and promoted its circulation. In the Conference at Zurich touching the mass, he for the first time came out openly as an advocate of this view; but he did not satisfy the bulk of his hearers. The not unlearned under-clerk, Joachim am Gruet, opposed him, even attacked him, in a second conference before the Councils and scholars, with tolerable success, and availed himself of the objection, against the reference of the Reformer to a multitude of Scripture passages, where Christ in parables likewise

made use of the word "is," plainly instead of "signifies," that they were only parables, whilst the Supper was a transaction so solemn, that such an arbitrary, audacious mode of interpretation could in no wise be admitted. How Zwingli was at first embarrassed by this objection, and how he afterward succeeded in refuting it, he may tell us in his own language.

"Undoubtedly," says he in one of his works,* "no easy task was before me, namely, to cite an example for my mode of interpretation, derived from no parable. I began to think over it, to look for it everywhere; in vain! I could find nothing. The 13th of April was at hand;† I tell the truth; (willingly would I keep silent, for I well know many will make a mock of it; but it is God's finger; my conscience constrains me to speak), early in the morning, before the break of day, I dreamed that I, yet full of chagrin, was once more attacked in battle with the under-clerk, and so beaten that I could discover no way of escape, and my tongue refused to do its office. This anguish tormented me in an incredible manner, as such things do in dreams, during the deceitful night. (I wish to tell it only as a dream, although it concerns me much; although that is important enough for me which I have learned, thanks be to God! through whose power alone anything is possible). As by the stroke of an enchanter's wand, I saw a comforter stand before me, (whether he was white or black, I cannot say; I relate a dream). 'Wherefore, thou awkward one,' he asks, 'dost thou not oppose him with the passage in the twelfth chapter of the second book of Moses? It is the Lord's passover.' I awoke, sprang out of bed, looked at the passage, thought over it and preached from it in the morning before the congregation, and, as I hope with sufficient power. The sermon swept the mists

* *De Eucharistia*. Zwingli's Works, by Schuler and Schultheiss; *Latinorum scriptorum pars prima*, p. 341.

† Thursday of Passion-week, 1525.

from the eyes of all those, who, on account of the above-mentioned difficulty, had not been able to obtain a clear view, and three days after, on the festival of the resurrection, such a pass-over of the Lord was celebrated, as I have never yet seen, and the number of those, who hankered after the flesh-pots of Egypt was less than any one would have ventured to hope."

In the beginning, Luther also had looked at this mode of interpretation, but discovered in the bias of his mind greater difficulties, to which others of an external nature were added. As early as the year 1524, he had written to the "Christians at Strassburg:" "This I confess—if any one had been able to assure me five years ago that there was nothing in the Sacrament but bread and wine, he would have done me the greatest service. I then endured such a severe temptation and so struggled and writhed, that I would willingly have been delivered, for I plainly saw that by it I could have dealt the heaviest blow against the Papacy; but I am fast and cannot get out. The text is too powerful here and will not suffer itself to be wrested of its meaning by words." The thing, which had especially awakened his dislike to the Zwinglian view, and which he does not here tell us, was the circumstance, that, before Zwingli had yet expressed himself publicly in regard to the Lord's Supper, Doctor Carlstadt had come out in Saxony with a still bolder interpretation, by which he attempted to break up the connection of Christ's own words of institution in such a way, that half of them lost all their meaning. In a violent work, that met with approval in many places, he then spread abroad this interpretation. This Carlstadt was to Luther a glowingly-hated stone of offence, which everywhere laid in his way. Whilst Luther was in the Wartburg, he had headed the furious image-stormers in Wittenberg. He now made his home in Orlamuend, where he supplanted the preacher, disregarded all the ordinances of the Elector, and excited the people

to such a degree, that when Luther went into the country, at the command of the Prince, to restore order, he was pelted with dirt and stones, and pursued with the cry: "Drive off, in the name of a thousand devils, and break your neck!" Deprived of his situation, after such doings, Carlstadt went to Strassburg, and then to Switzerland. Meanwhile, his writings were forbidden by the Council at Strassburg. Zwingli, on the other hand, declared this to be unjust, because Carlstadt's writings contained neither godless nor fanatical errors. Henceforth Luther began to transfer his hatred against Carlstadt more and more to Zwingli, although the latter, in his work, "On true and false Religion," only excused Carlstadt's interpretation, but in no wise approved, rather assailed it; and when Œcolampadius also issued his treatise on the Lord's Supper, Luther came out openly in the most passionate letters against the Swiss Reformers. "For myself," says he, in one of them, "I confess, that I do not think Zwingli a Christian with all his doctrines, for he holds and teaches no part of the Christian faith rightly, and has become seven times worse than when he was a Papist, according to Christ's judgment: 'The last state of that man shall be worse than the first.' I make such a confession, that I may be without blame before God and the world, because I have no share in Zwingli's doctrines, nor will have to all eternity!"*

To allay this strife was the task which the *landgrave* Philip of Hesse proposed to himself. This prince, then in his twenty-fifth year, a man of scientific culture, an indefatigable ruler, beloved by his people and feared by his more powerful neighbors, on account of his decided and enterprising character, was the soul of the Protestant party. To the Elector of Saxony, who, possessed of more prudence and timidity, stood along with him at its head, he wrote: "Rather would I give up body and life,

* Martin Luther's Works, edited by Pfizer, p. 600.

land and people, than abandon God and his Word." At his court lived Duke Ulric, of Wuerttemberg, an exile, driven from his country by the Emperor, and the Swabian League, but undaunted, eager for war, and continually busied with plans for recovering his princely seat. At an earlier period he had spent some time in Switzerland and became personally acquainted with Zwingli, and through him the *landgrave* was also brought into connection with the Reformer. Thinking clearly and feeling deeply; imbued also with the spirit of the Holy Scriptures, he thought, if stubbornness did not prevent it, a mutual understanding was yet possible, and resolved to spare no pains in order to attain it. Zwingli and Œcolampadius willingly consented to his proposal of a conference. They only wished it to be held in Strassburg, because Zwingli especially despaired of receiving permission from the Zurich Council for the dangerous journey to Marburg, the residence of the *landgrave*, and so long an absence. The consent of the Saxons was more difficult to obtain. Melancthon from timidity, and because he did not wish to break fully with the Catholics, reconciliation with whom he thought yet possible, and Luther from dislike avoided the Conference; the former even privately requested the Elector not to permit them to go. "It is not well," he said, "for the *landgrave* to have much to do with the Zwinglians; he has taken, moreover, a greater liking to them, than is necessary; for the matter has come to such a point, that acute people, like the *landgrave*, regard it with the deepest interest, and the understanding seizes readily upon what it comprehends, especially if men of learning, who can give the matter from Holy Scripture, are inclined that way, and we know that many scholars now adhere to Zwingli."

It is clear that the Swiss were regarded by the Saxons as radical stormers, unprincipled innovators, who, amid their mountains and their republican affairs had forgotten all respect

for law and order. "I am sick;" wrote Melanchthon to one friend, "an indescribable anguish of soul torments me; I can scarcely breathe. Thou knowest wherefore. The Elbe has fearfully overflowed its banks. Even in Hesse I saw a great stone torn out of the side-walk of a church by the might of the floods, as though done by the contrivances of art. Still other signs happen. Christ defend us!" and to another: "Rather would I die, than live to see this Zwinglian affair pollute our just cause." Luther spoke thus against the *landgrave* himself: "I know well what the devil is after. God grant I may be no prophet; for if it were not a false trick, but a real purpose among them to seek peace, they would not attempt it in such a glorious fashion through great and mighty princes; for we, by God's grace, are not so savage and wild, that they could not long ago have tendered to us, as they yet can, the humble endeavors for peace, of which they boast; but I know that I will not basely give way to them. I cannot; because I am so fully persuaded that they err, and are themselves, moreover, unsettled in their opinions." At last, Melanchthon made the proposal to invite some Papists to the Conference as witnesses, though in fact rather to pave the way for their final consent; and for a long while yet, both he and Luther wished to have Œcolampadius as an opponent, and protested against the appearance of Zwingli.

But such spectres were not visible to the *landgrave* Philip. He was one of those princes, who, conscious of their own power and of love to their people, by whom in turn they are beloved, can look without fear even on republican affairs; a man in whom faith lived, and who without hesitation, therefore, suffered the spirit to live; and, acting thus, hoped, with youthful assurance, to calm down the violent combatants by his influence, if he could only get a personal interview with them. This appears best from his own words: "Dear Master Erhard," so he wrote some years after this period, to another of the zealots in

the Eucharistic controversy, the Wuerttemberg preacher, Erhard Schnepf, "I hear that you will not leave Blarer (preacher at Constance) unmolested in the confession, with which Luther and Philip (Melanchthon) are still satisfied, but press upon him with sophistical language, and have made many persons anxious lest you would break down more than you build up, which I myself do not yet accuse you of, but should it happen, it will grieve many a pious man. Hence, it is my prayer, that you will proceed gently; be no disputer of words, but a promoter of faith, love and good works, and not, as the old proverb says, 'raise a spoon and break a bowl;' for you might have a zeal, when you have reached a sure understanding, to press it upon others and yet not reach the heart; and besides, to speak humanly, do great injury to the Gospel; as, for example, many pious people might be brought thereby to persecution and ruin, when the matter was not even worth talking about. Therefore proceed wisely, that you may not become a partaker of such blood and such destruction. It will not do to plunge thus into matters. The Apostles acted prudently; they did not thus reject people for trifling errors. I point this out to you, as one, who heartily desires you to treat of things, that will promote the cause of the Gospel, unity, and love also. Understand yourself, and do not go further than God allows. Let not the old Adam lord it over the new. You have not been preaching long. It is needful to exhort you. Adieu."

Guided by such a noble endeavor to restore harmony among the Protestants, he pursued his mark with unwearied zeal, and obtained the consent of the Elector of Saxony, (who now required his learned men to attend the Conference), and at length that also of Luther and Melanchthon, who, under date of July 8th, 1529, wrote to him as follows: "Since Your Princely Grace has received our two letters, and still insist upon our coming to Marburg, in the confident hope that concord will re-

sult from it, we wish with a cheerful and ready mind to contribute our part thereto, and by God's grace, if sound and well, will appear at Marburg on the day appointed. The Father of all mercy and unity grant His spirit that we may come together not in vain—for profit and not injury. Amen. Christ be Your Princely Grace's Governor and Guide!"

Zwingli also, when Philip had repeated the invitation to Marburg and pledged himself for the security of the journey, set out. He ventured to say nothing to the government; had even entreated the *landgrave* to confine his request to the Privy Council. On the first day after his departure, he began a letter to the Council, in which he apologises for not communicating the request to them, and says in addition: "It was not done with any intention to slight your Worships, but in order to discharge my duties with greater fidelity to you, since I foresaw you would not grant me permission, because of the interest you take in my welfare; for the distance by the route we go is 60 miles,* and the place strange to us on account of its religion, though secure enough, being in the territory of the *landgrave*, and the learned there all hostile to us, and our number is only three. So also friends, in whom we could confide, are few, from Zurich until very far down the Rhine. Yet it would not be right for me to remain away, since by this the whole plan would be frustrated, and many excellent men of the opposition brought thither on a fruitless journey. Then it would be interpreted, as if we were afraid of a friendly conference. Therefore, I pray your Worships, in the most humble manner, not to take my going off amiss, for I was loth to hear others despise you; and remember too that my staying away might result in injury to the truth and the disparagement of your good name. Otherwise you may hope in God, that we, by His aid, will give a faithful, undaunted support to the truth

* Equal to 270 English miles.—*Translator*.

and bring no scandal on our church." He then apologized likewise for the departure of Collin, the professor of the Greek language, whom he had taken with him; asked, since Basel had granted a member of the Council to Œcolampadius, that the same might be done for his assistance; and nominated the treasurer, Ulric Funk, on account of his cleverness and knowledge of the Latin language, who, as soon as he had received permission, hastened to join him. Immediately after his departure from Zurich, his enemies crept out of their hiding-places. Nonsensical reports were circulated. "He has run away with a party of rogues," said some; the "Devil has carried him off," said others. In Basel they met Œcolampadius and the deputy of the Council, Rudolph Frei. The plan was, that from thence he should proceed along with Œcolampadius by water to Strassburg. He asked for a moderate advance of money; because riding "on a hired horse cost a great deal," he would be obliged to buy one at Strassburg, which would leave him little for the expenses of the journey, and then, being compelled to borrow, would "become a laughing-stock." "To my wife," he concluded, "let Master Stall tell as much of the matter as a woman ought to know," for when I left her, I said no more than that I was going to Basel on business." In Basel, where he tarried nearly two weeks, he preached to a great concourse of people. The time was also employed by him in political negotiation. This imperial city desired then admission into the Christian *Buergerrecht* on the same terms as Constance. The mayor, Sturm, likewise invited to the Conference by the *landgrave*, along with Bucer and Hedio, was an experienced statesman, and not without influence at the Imperial Diet. He had connections in France. Reports had been received concerning the reconciliation of the Emperor with the Pope, against whom he had been carrying on war, and his arrival in Italy and the general sweeping measures toward the

Protestants, to be apprehended from this combination of spiritual and temporal power. They were communicated confidentially to the Zurichers. Some of them Zwingli wrote down. The most important he sent to the Privy Council with the postscript: "This comes from the real cabinet of art." "Were it not wicked," he again wrote from Strassburg, "we might encourage the Venetians to withstand them so boldly, that the Emperor would be finished in Italy, and not able to escape over the mountains." On the 18th of September they left the city and, by a circuitous route, which they had to choose for safety, reached Marburg on the 29th. The day after, the Saxon scholars, Luther, Melanchthon, Justus Jonas, from Wittemberg, and several others, made their appearance. From Nuremberg, came Andrew Osiander; from Swabian Halle, John Brenz; from Augsburg, Stephen Agricola; all likewise invited by the *landgrave*. In an humble letter, signed "Your Princely Grace's obedient servant and poor little worm," Carlstadt also begged for admission, but received a polite refusal. The entire company was lodged in the castle. A Latin poem written by Professor Curicius conjured them to begin the Conference with such calmness, and prosecute it with such dignity, that the world may know the Spirit of God had presided over it.

Strangers from various countries had arrived in considerable numbers; but no one received admittance, except those who were invited; the Duke of Wuerttemberg, the Count of Fuersenberg, several courtiers, the professors of the University and the Hessian preachers. Zwingli's request, that the proceedings should be written down by secretaries under oath, and the Latin language used, was declined by the *landgrave*; likewise the wish of Luther and Melanchthon, for the aid of respectable Papists. Immediately after his arrival, Luther had received a visit of courtesy from Œcolampadius, Bucer and Hedio; Zwingli remained without a greeting from the side of his opponents.

Justus Jonas studied physiognomy and manners. He pretended "to see in Zwingli a certain tincture of rustic arrogance; in Œcolampadius a wonderfully mild nature; in Hedio, no less humanity and liberal culture; in Bucer, under the mantle of sagacity and penetration, fox-like cunning."

On the 20th of September, the *landgrave* first joined his guests at the supper-table. Here he expressed the wish that on the following morning Luther would hold a special conversation with Œcolampadius and Zwingli with Melanchthon. He hoped by thus placing a vehement character over against a gentle one in each case, to render the after approach of the chief combatants more easy perhaps. The Saxons were the complainants. They accused the Swiss of errors in various points. But everything soon gave way to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper. For three hours Luther tried his fortune with Œcolampadius, and Melanchthon with Zwingli for six. Agreement continued impossible. Yet Luther sent the news in a letter, that the conflict had been carried on in separate chambers, in a friendly tone.

On the morning of the 2d of October, at six o'clock, the discussion began in the presence of from 50 to 60 persons, invited or admitted, in the Hall of the Knights. At a special table, opposite to Zwingli and Œcolampadius, sat Luther and Melanchthon; in their immediate neighborhood, the *landgrave*, surrounded by his courtiers; the others rather behind. Feige, the chancellor of state, opened the Conference in the name of the Prince, with an address. After unfolding the pure, successful, grand beginning of the Reformation, he then continued: "but now, some of the leaders themselves, animated by a schismatic spirit, have hurried on too rashly, and been so far misled, that they, who were bound ever to remain faithful at the head of the cause, and, by their common power and mutual support, sweep away every vestige of error, have now not only

deserted their post, but even attacked each other, to the great joy and delight of the enemy. Therefore, if they cannot find sufficient reasons for concord in the Gospel itself, and their duty to promote the welfare of the Church they ought not to give their bitterest enemies occasion to rejoice and exhibit so sad a spectacle of disunion. His Princely Grace wishes to prescribe neither aim nor measure to this Conference; but would remind the members, that wherever similar transactions have taken place, men of true learning, even if they had written somewhat roughly and severely against each other before, had then laid aside wrath and bitterness, so the unlearned might the better perceive, that they sought truth and love more than a mere defence of their own opinions with sharp and quick words. Those who now take this course, cannot fail to win praise and thanks, whilst the others, who do not like unity, but obstinately persist in a delusion once embraced, from which all heresies spring, will thereby give an undoubted proof, that the Holy Spirit does not reign in their hearts, and has never been among them with his gifts. His Princely Grace hopes that the present Conference will have a happier termination, and closes with the gracious desire, that the very learned Masters will understand and receive all this in the best spirit." On their side thanks were now given to the *landgrave* for his trouble, and a promise made, to carry on the discussion without any bitterness, in a respectful and friendly manner; but, although unity should be sought with the most ardent zeal, this at the same time could not be effected at the expense of divine and revealed truth, and Christ's words would be preferred before all others.

After this, the discussion was commenced by Luther's writing on the table with chalk, these words in the Latin language: "*Hoc est corpus meum*" (This is my body). With great mildness and learning *Æcolampadius* now unfolded his view, which

Luther, however, in spite of every challenge, refused to contradict, falling back always upon the verbal expression. "Beloved sirs," said he, "as long as these words stand, I cannot really get over them, but must confess and believe, that the body of Christ is there."—Springing up, Zwingli asked: "Is He indeed *there*, Doctor, corporeally there? *There* also in the sacrament, is He daily broken anew? In what then do you differ from the Papists?" The scene became more lively; Luther's replies more bitter. He complained that Zwingli wished to trip him, to give his words wantonly another meaning than he had intended. The latter controlled himself somewhat, brought up passages of Scripture for explanation, came forward with remarks on the grammar, with interpretations of the Church Fathers and carried the discussion even into the sphere of philosophy and physics. In no way did Luther permit himself to be caught; turned back always to the letter, and declared, that he would do it; that we durst not in this case deviate therefrom, because the Lord had so expressed himself; and unconditional faith must transcend all doubt; and "if the Lord God placed crab-apples before me and commanded me to take and eat, I durst not ask, wherefore?" "God commands us to eat neither dirt nor crab-apples," said Zwingli.—When it came to such sharp words, the *landgrave* interposed somewhat, or one of the others present, Œcolampadius occasionally relieving his friend, and Melanchthon Luther. For two whole days the discussion lasted, with a diminishing prospect of agreement. The Saxons were evidently irritated by Zwingli's unconstrained behavior and bold language. He gave them plainly to understand, that he feared in Luther a sort of new Pope. "I will not have it," once dropped from the lips of the latter. "Must you then have everything just as you wish?" asked Zwingli.

It had become clear to the *landgrave* that a mutual under-

standing was impossible, and still more clear, when the Mayor of Strassburg rose up with a complaint, that Luther had also charged the preachers of his city with teaching error. This accusation should not be permitted to lie against them; he could not return home with such news. Bucer and Hedio themselves desired Luther to speak out decidedly, and prove wherein they taught falsely; but he would not do it, nor testify that they were true pastors. "I am," said he, "neither your lord nor your judge; you wish neither me nor my doctrines; our spirit and yours do not accord; therefore I will give you no testimonial. You also do not need it, for you boast everywhere, you have learned nothing from us. This, moreover, every man can see for himself, and we would not have such disciples."

"No!" exclaimed the *landgrave* with warmth, "you shall not separate in such a fashion, my Lords. You must draw up certain points, acceptable to both, and give them your common signature, so that an evidence, at least, of your external agreement is at hand, if that which is internal cannot be reached. Confer among yourselves how and as long as you please; but before this I cannot suffer you to depart." The theologians came together, and on the 4th of October produced fifteen articles on the chief doctrines, which were signed by Luther, Melancthon, Jones, Osiander, Brenz, and Agricola, on the one side, and Ecclampadius, Zwingli, Bucer and Hedio on the other. The last words of it ran thus: "and although we have not been able now to agree, as to whether the true body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet one party ought to exercise Christian charity toward the other, as far as each conscience can possibly allow it, and both parties ought to beseech Almighty God fervently, to lead us by His Spirit to a right understanding. Amen."

In conclusion, the *landgrave* exhorted them to part as

brethren. "Then Zwingli said," as Bullinger narrates, "there were no people on earth, with whom he would rather be united than the Wittenbergers, and he would cheerfully acknowledge Luther and his friends as brethren. *Æcolampadius*, Bucer and Hedio had also the same feeling; but Luther was by no means willing to acknowledge them as brethren in return, and said: It took him by surprise, that they would call him brother, whose doctrine on the sacrament they esteemed false; they could not themselves think much of their own." In regard to the same event, he wrote to Jacob Probst of Bremen: "They promised with many words, they would yield this much to us, that the person of Christ was really, though spiritually, present in the Holy Supper, if we would only esteem them worthy of the name of brother, and in this way feign a reconciliation. Zwingli begged it with tears in his eyes before the *landgrave* and all present, whilst he added: 'There are no men with whom I would rather be united than with the Wittenbergers.' With the greatest zeal and as urgently as possible they endeavored to appear in harmony with us and never could endure my saying: 'You have another spirit than we.' As often as they heard it they were inflamed. Finally, we granted so much, that it might stand at the conclusion of the article, not indeed that we were brethren, but that we would not withdraw from them our love, which is due even to an enemy. So now, the shame rests on them, that they would not receive the name of brother and must separate as heretics; meanwhile we agreed, in our controversial writings, no more to make war on each other, in the hope that the Lord would open their hearts. Thou canst tell this confidentially. As a preacher of Christ, who is the Truth, I write the truth. By it thou canst quietly oppose all liars and disturbers. They behaved toward us with incredible humanity and compliance. But, as it now appears, all was show, in order to bring about a hypocritical concord and make us the partners

of their errors. O how cunning Satan is! But Christ is still wiser. He has preserved us. I am no longer surprised, if they lie shamelessly. I see that they could not do otherwise, and am glad of it; for they have reached this point under the guidance of Satan, that they betray themselves not merely by their secret intrigues, but openly before all the world."

Sad of heart, the *landgrave* left Marburg before Luther and Melanchthon. Since concord was not to be restored among the theologians, it became so much the more necessary to secure a closer connection of the governments. He held various consultations on this subject with Zwingli, Sturm and several of their associates. The political consequences flowing from the Conference, will be detailed in the next chapter; concerning those of a religious and scientific nature, this much may be yet said:

The enemies of the combatants alone derived gain from it. Their hatred against the Reformation appeared now to be wholly justified. "Here you have," said they, "the effects, when children tear loose from the Everlasting Mother. They now turn against themselves the intellectual weapons, so highly bepraised, which they have used against us. What others are left for them against us, save those of iron?" Now, to these neither Luther nor Melanchthon would have recourse. But Zwingli tried it, and—fell. The Reformation seemed about to go backward. Paralyzing formulas took the place of the living Gospel: first, the Augsburg Confession; then, the Helvetic, and for others again, the XXXIX Articles of the Episcopal Church of England. Protestant Popes rose up beside the Catholic, who, from this time forth, wore his triple crown with greater security. It is true, indeed, that Zwingli also handed in a confession of faith at the Imperial Diet, but only in defence, not to force it upon others. He expressly said, in the letter to the Emperor, which accompanied it: "*I alone de-*

liver it, without encroaching on the rights of my people." According to his view the Gospel only is unassailable. Whatever of true or false man adds to the interpretation of the Divine law, he does it on his own responsibility. With this view tolerance and love, as well as progressive science, are possible; all others lead to stiffness and intolerance, and such was the result then on all sides. Or is it perchance an evangelical spirit, which breathes in Calvin's article: "That the heretic should be punished with death," and in the funeral pile of Servetus? Were the rack-chambers of Queen Elizabeth* much more Christian than the dragonades of Louis XIV., and did Ireland live more happily under the yoke of a High Church forced upon her, than Spain under the Inquisition? Were the persecutions begun at the Synod of Dort, justified by the anathemas, with which the Council of Trent disgraced itself?

All have erred. Instead of kindling new passions, the call of our age goes forth, to unite rather in a common acknowledgment of sin. This is the confession in which all can again find themselves; but the Gospel is the light that shows the way to reconciliation. What is there yet to hinder it? Two enemies, and in two verses a spirited poet (Goethe) has thus portrayed them:

Thou must reign through victory,
Or a servant kneel and lose,
Suffering or triumph choose,
Th' anvil or the hammer be.

This is the one; the principle of the absolutist, in a spiritual or worldly mantle; and the other, the principle of the demagogue in the Jacobin's cap, as well as in the Jesuit's garb, forms the counter-part:

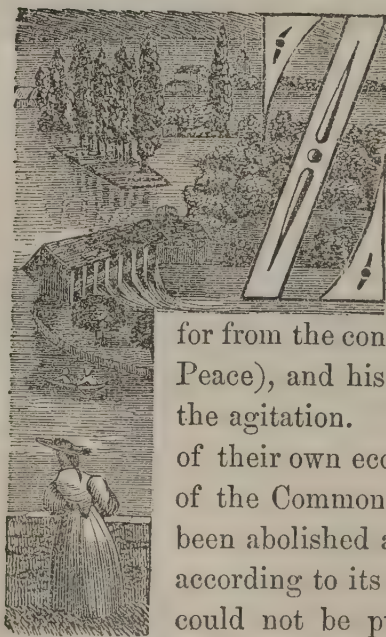
'Tis foolish to wait for improvement in fools;
Ye children of prudence, O make them your tools.

* Lingard's History of England, Vol. VIII. Ch. 3 and 6.

Of such wisdom the Gospel knows nothing; it demands fraternal assistance and love, and does not permit rank without humility, requiring from those, who stand in the highest places, subordination under God. Perhaps (for who can fathom the ways of Providence?) the adherents of the above-named principles will yet again reach out the hand of friendship to each other. Then will begin the last, severest battle; but the Gospel must triumph, for the Church of Christ, under her *one, Divine* Head, perpetually revealing himself in history and the power of love, is founded upon a rock; then also will all *human* order be custom refined by science and ennobled by art and nature, a unity in substance, with endless diversity in form—the adversary of all revolutions.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.

INTERNAL CONDITION OF SWITZERLAND AFTER THE FIRST CAMPAIGN.
THE ABBOT OF SAINT GALL. POLITICAL RESULTS OF THE
MARBURG CONFERENCE.



WINGLI'S absence had lasted seven weeks, from the 3d of September to the 19th of October, 1529. On his return home, he did not find the country in that peaceful condition, which the well-disposed and the short-sighted had hoped for from the conclusion of the *Landfriede* (General Peace), and his arrival in no wise tended to lessen the agitation. The *Landfriede* granted the choice of their own ecclesiastical system to the inhabitants of the Common Territories. Where the mass had been abolished and images burned or carried away, according to its letter, they who did these things could not be punished, either in person, standing or property; but just as little, on the other hand, in places where they still existed, could those who preached a different doctrine enter, until invited by a majority of the parishioners. Special conferences between cantons were interdicted, in so far as they had reference to the affairs of the Confederacy, but allowed to those who were authorized to transact business for the

Buergerrecht and alliances of like character. The following injunction was issued by the deputies of all the Thirteen Cantons: "In order that we may not be again plunged into disunion and greater discord, through reviling and recrimination, all and every one shall be specially forbidden, on pain of severe punishment, to deal in unbecoming scandal, wanton, useless and injurious words of shame, abuse, filth and insult, scornful expressions, disparagements and taunts, such as human ingenuity knows how to devise; no one shall any longer venture to pick at, assail or blacken his neighbor with slanders, books of libel, prints, sayings, songs, verses and other means of provocation; but each one shall suffer his neighbor to remain quiet, undisturbed and in every way unmolested in the enjoyment of peace." The summer of the following year was fixed upon as the time of payment for the indemnity to cover the additional expenses incurred by the war and the support of the surviving relatives of the pastor Kaiser, who was burned at the stake, and authority was given to the Reformed Cities to stop the export of provisions into the Five Cantons, in case of refusal. In regard to the rents, tithes and revenues of the monasteries and clerical foundations, they could either continue as heretofore, be allowed under changed conditions, or abolished altogether. Every one of these articles contained material for a future explosion. It was impossible to comply with them fully, because on the one side a conviction of their justice or expediency was wanting, and on the other they were considered as far too lax in their requirements—because individual cases usually occurred in such a shape that their conditions were not applicable in every particular, and finally, because the embers of passion still glowed in the bosoms of those who were in power; and among the leaders of both parties, the desire of carrying out their own ecclesiastical system or political plans outweighed their interest in the welfare of their common fatherland.

Since Catholic bailiffs ruled in the Territories, who could blame them for watching anxiously over those communities, in which the mass and images were still retained, and for striving to prevent the entrance of Reformed preaching, the influx of Zwinglian doctrines and writings? But who, on the other hand, could take umbrage, if individual members of congregations, in the wish to hear at least the new doctrines, endeavored to win over their neighbors and friends, and thus gain a majority, in order to call in a preacher? Such persons generally turned to Zurich, where they found support, whilst the bailiffs made complaint of it at the meetings of the Diet or to the Five Cantons; nor did they complain the less also of their fierce invectives, mutual strife and immunity from punishment. Here the will to punish was wanting; there the power, especially if the offenders belonged to the distinguished classes, as they frequently did. But the circumstances of the abbot and monastery of St. Gall afforded the chief material for a new quarrel; and these it will be necessary now to describe in detail.

The monastery of St. Gall, from its very origin, played an important part in the history of our fatherland; in the first centuries by its scientific reputation as a renowned and influential seminary of learning, and afterward on account of its increasing possessions, its political influence and the rank of its abbot as a prince of the empire. The abbot ruled over that tolerably extensive district, lying between Wyl and Roschach, on Lake Constance, under the title of the "Old Province," and also, from the year 1469, over the County of Toggenburg, under that of the "New Province." The abbacy of St. Gall constituted the first and most considerable of the so-called Allied Cantons; its deputies appeared at the sessions of the Diet, and its armed soldiery marched out with the other confederates in their wars. The County of Toggenburg enjoyed no mean privi-

leges; it had the choosing of its own general council (*landrath*), the right of appointing lower courts, subject, it is true, to the sanction of the abbot, and for the protection of these privileges stood under one common law with the states of Schwyz and Glarus, to which, at a later period, the abbot also was admitted for the security of its rights. He had also formed an alliance with the four states, Zurich, Luzern, Schwyz and Glarus, on behalf of his possessions, by which these cantons were pledged to protect him and his abbey, with all his subjects, in their rights and liberties. For this service, half the fines accruing in the territories of St. Gall were paid over to them, and the dependants of the abbot were bound to obey their call in time of war. For the exercise of these rights and the performance of their duties, the Four Cantons, each every two years in succession, placed a governor-general at Wyl, who was *ex-officio* a member of the abbot's privy council, and took rank immediately after him.

This position had been filled, from the beginning of the year 1529, by Jacob Frei, a member of the Zurich Council. The abbot, Francis Geissberg, now for a long time an invalid, found it entirely beyond his power to make any effectual resistance to the attacks, by which he saw himself and his monastery threatened from the city of St. Gall, his own subjects and the Reformed Confederacy. Every day the doctrine of the unscripturalness of clerical dominion gained ground, and penetrated even among the brethren of the convent, a part of whom threw off their monkish garments. The majority, however, remained firm to their vows. The abbot, already far gone in dropsy, had himself conveyed to Roschach, where, in a fortified castle, he was more secure than in a cloister standing open to invasion from the burghers of St. Gall. There, on the 21st of March, he died, and this was the moment that Zurich and the city of St. Gall had waited for, to take measures against the

monastery itself, but principally against its political rights. Meanwhile eleven of the monks, one month before, had pledged themselves under a solemn oath, even on compulsory removal from the cloister, to renounce none of the rights of the convent, but rather to uphold them in every possible manner. For six days, the death of the abbot was kept secret even in Roschach, and his food carried into him as though he were yet alive, whilst the monks assembled in Rapperschweil and there elected one of their number, Kilian German, in his stead. The news of this action awakened the liveliest displeasure among the Zurichers, who had relied on the power of the burghers of St. Gall to prevent it. But priestly cunning triumphed, and German afterward succeeded in obtaining an acknowledgment, first from two cantons of the protectorate, Luzern and Schwyz, and then with much trouble from Glarus also. Three months later, the election was ratified by Pope Clement the VII., and proofs of consideration and offers of any amount of help received from Austria.

The new abbot, a man of talent, descended from a branch of the distinguished family of the Toggenburgers, as soon as the choice had fallen on him, made known his purpose plainly, not to rest until he and his convent had come again into full possession of their rights; until the religious usages were restored, and divine worship celebrated after the old mode in the church of the foundation. But just as plainly did Zurich and St. Gall declare that this should not be. The subjects of the monastery were now roused up by Zurich, and many in Toggenburg began to hope even for complete deliverance from all foreign rule. Reconciliation had become impossible. In a letter of advice, drawn up by Zurich and St. Gall, it is expressly said: "Matters have come to this pass, that either our Lords, together with our confederates and christian fellow-citizens of St. Gall and the entire population of the abbacy (*Gotteschau-*

schente), to whom our Lords have pledged life and property, for the ministry of the Divine Word, or else Sir Kilian, the pretended abbot, must bend and break."

In this business Zwingli took a very active part. His plans in relation to it were so comprehensive that he did not look for entire approval in Zurich herself. Not only were the lawful claims of the two cantons, Luzern and Schwyz, to a share in the deliberations on the affairs of St. Gall, wholly set aside, but Glarus also was not to be heard, except in so far as she agreed with Zurich in the fundamental principle laid down by him. This principle, that all spiritual lordship is unscriptural, and therefore unjust—a principle, which he was ready to avow, defend and prove clearly on the field of science, he carried over, as already shown, into the sphere of politics and wished to apply it to a treaty made in times, when men knew nothing of it, and with parties, who did not even yet recognize it. Hence an opinion drawn up by him has this heading: "Advice how the deputies ought to treat, either with or without the deputies of Glarus, so that the monastery of St. Gall, its abbot and its monks may be surprised, overcome and put up at auction with their monkhood and lordship, and knocked down to the Four Cantons." On the margin is added: "Not to be read before the burghers" (Great Council).

It was then proposed, in plain language, to send full orders to the governor-general to call together the subjects of the abbey everywhere in their several parishes, and announce to them that Zurich was resolved, as far as lay in her power, to prevent the acknowledgment of the abbot elect and the choice of any successor; since there could be no concord between monkery and the Gospel—that she had no desire to invade the rights of the Four Cantons in their character of common wardens, and hence would act not merely in her own name, but in conjunction with Glarus, in case the latter were willing, with the proviso also of

a full report to the other two cantons, "until God would make them of the same mind"—and, that it was just as much her intention to respect the rights of the people of the abbacy, with whom "she would cheerfully sit down, hear their grievances and judge therein with moderation and dispatch, as is becoming in such affairs, meanwhile pledging person and property not to suffer them to be injured or oppressed, so far as life and property can reach. Let it be known too in what a friendly and brotherly manner Zurich and Glarus have ever behaved toward their subjects, and that up to this time their rule has never been dreaded. Letters and seals should also be prepared, which, if God please, no one shall break in all coming time. All this done, the serious question should be put to the people of the abbacy, whether they will agree to break up the monastery, and if so, it shall be done promptly and peacefully, unless resistance is offered." It appears, however, that this was not anticipated, for several other doubtful points are added to the opinion, with the express injunction: "These must not be made known to the people of the abbacy, until the business is finished." But if peaceful measures did not suffice to carry out the plan, compulsion was to be used: "If any one wishes to fight, an appeal for help shall be made to our confederates of St. Gall and the people of the abbacy, and with God's favor the places shall be taken by force of arms." As soon as they are taken, Luzern and Schwyz shall be written to, and the proceeding justified on the score of necessity, the hostility of the abbot against Zurich, and the urgent need of the people of the abbacy. Meanwhile those monks, who can be caught, shall be thrown into prison, a thorough search made, inventories drawn up, and "if the treasure cannot be found, the monks who know anything about it, shall be further questioned upon oath, until the whole truth come to light. When everything is finished and sealed before the government at Zurich, the people of the

abbacy shall take the oath of allegiance, whilst Toggenburg is silenced by hopes of greater freedom." In fine, the opinion gives it as the aim of all these counsels, "that the monk may no longer be a stallion to beget more of his kind, but bridled, harnessed and taught to obey the rein."

This plan was certainly radical, but not evangelical. It was not possible that Luzern and Schwyz; not possible that the Catholic cantons generally, could suffer these violations of Confederate faith, and of sealed treaties to pass by unheeded. And Glarus, although the majority of her people sympathized in Zwingli's views of the unscriptural character of spiritual lordship, and were by no means favorable to the abbot and his rule, nevertheless felt hurt by the arbitrary action of Zurich and the air of guardianship which she assumed even toward her.

Bern also was far from sharing in the unbridled zeal of her sister city on the Limath, whose intervention in the affairs of St. Gall was not the least among the reasons, that held her sword in the scabbard, during the first campaign, in the summer of the year 1529. But then Zurich endeavored to defend the steps she had taken against the abbot by the articles of the *Landfriede*; this treaty, it was said, would secure the city of St. Gall from punishment for what she had permitted in regard to the monastery, for its occupation, the disorders which had ensued, and the removal of the images from the churches, as well as confirm and guarantee peace to those parishes in Toggenburg, where the preaching of the Gospel and a synodical rule had been introduced by the advice of Zwingli. The political relations, both of the people of the abbacy and of the Toggenburgers remained in an unsettled state. Had the Five Cantons known it, they never would have approved of conditions, by which the abbot could be deprived of his territorial rights.

During the campaign he had fled to Bregenz and Ueberlingen, carrying along the archives and jewels of the monastery.

With his conventuals, who had found refuge at Einsiedeln in Schwyz, he kept up a constant correspondence. Through his relatives he secured a devoted party in Toggenburg, and, by means of the monies at his command, adherents in various parts of Switzerland to undertake and further his cause. After the conclusion of the *Landfriede* (General Peace) he ventured to return home again, and even rode through a portion of the Zurichan territory in disguise. Zwingli's stay in Marburg was of great service to him. He furnished the different parishes in Glarus with his authentic titles. There was a powerful movement amongst the people, but the Reformed majority triumphed in the end. The deputies to a conference of the four protectorate cantons at Wyl received a commission to act in harmony with Zurich; but numbers of the opposite party withdrew reluctantly from the assembly, lamenting "that old letters and seals had no more value, since many a Saint Friedli* hung miserable, naked and bare on the rolls of parchment."

At this conference of the protectorate cantons held at Wyl, the abbot wished to conduct his cause in person. Zurich, to whom his absence was all-important, sent an order to the governor-general secretly to fill the castle with a garrison of trusty men. Kilian, learning this and fearing an ambushade, staid away; but the people of the abbacy appeared before the deputies of the cantons with a petition, which showed that they knew how to carry out the doctrine of the unscriptural character of spiritual lordship to a further extent than was pleasant even to Zurich herself. "Accordingly, since the Holy Word of God does not direct or oblige us, we do not wish henceforth to have this or any other abbot; and because we are without court or council, and so exposed to outrage that no one scarcely is safe, we desire permission to have a chief-bailiff, a court, a council and similar officers *of our own*, so that crime may be

* The image of St. Fridolin, in the cantonal seal of Glarus.

punished, the peaceful and good protected, evil-doers suppressed, and a happy life led; for, as we pay rents and tithes we ought not to be left without law; and that you may see we do not ask for anything unreasonable, aged persons can yet be found, who remember that such a chief-bailiff and council, as we now desire, formerly existed among the people of the abbacy."

None of the Four Cantons was at all willing to grant this petition. The deputies of Luzern and Schwyz simply defended the rights of the abbot, complained to the Zurichers of the tyrannical proceeding of their governor-general and requested the removal of the garrison from the castle. Zurich and Glarus endeavored to quiet the people of the abbacy by promising to send home a report and afterward to communicate the views of their governments. The resolution now passed by the privy council of Zurich plainly unfolds its policy in this affair.— 'Whereas you, our worthy deputies,' so it reads, "cannot but see and regard the petition of the people of the abbacy as a desire, under show of a good spirit, to obtain the liberty of the flesh, to shake off authority, to lay hold of the rein with their own hands and appropriate to themselves power and rule, and the administration of the higher offices; and as you also cannot presume, that either you or we of the two cantons (Zurich and Glarus) have a right to act in this matter without the knowledge and approval of the other cantons; you will perceive that it is not advisable to grant them, just at this time, a chief-bailiff, judge, council and high courts of dignity and appeal; we are only able, in order that they may have no reason to complain about justice and law, to allow them now, in the beginning, to fill the lower courts, as they have come down from antiquity, with honest, upright, sensible and God-loving men, but the principal posts of government, the high offices, to which sovereignty pertains, must continue as they are, until it is seen what course the abbot and the two cantons, who sup-

port him, will take." It was then proposed, to place the chief power in the hands of the governor-general for the interim, to associate with him for this purpose able men, and appoint them a court of appeal in judicial cases; but for the final settlement of affairs, to call together a second conference of the four protectorate cantons, and should Luzern and Schwyz refuse to take part in it, to signify to them, that they were determined to proceed without them." It is then to be presumed," continues the letter of advice to the deputies, "if they thus see, that the abbot cannot be restored, they will quietly agree with us of the two cantons to take charge of the government. But should they persevere in their opposition and attempt to use any force on behalf of the abbot against our purpose and that of the honest people, it will then be our duty to curb force with force, until honest people, perchance our Confederates of Bern and others shall interpose and help to make a treaty of peace. And then indeed it will be discovered, whose shall be the rule and authority, and who shall be lord or servant, and thereby the desire for self-government among the people of the abbacy shall be broken and every thing rightly settled, ordered and secured by charter, how and in what form, henceforth, court, law, dignities, offices and all authorities shall be held, and how and what grievances shall be redressed for the honest people."

Zurich acted from this time forward, in accordance with these views, and at the close of the year, after Luzern and Schwyz had repeatedly declined to take part in a second conference, she issued, in connection with Glarus, an ordinance, of which the following is the substance: "Henceforth the governor-general is the chief ruler of the abbey-territory. As heretofore he shall be appointed for a term of two years by each of the four protectorate cantons in succession. He shall take an oath to favor the Divine Word and protect the same. Only then are his subjects bound to obey him. This governor is to be

supreme judge, instead of the imperial bailiff. The high court shall consist, besides him, of twelve men, of whom he has the selection of four, and the territory of the other eight. In conjunction with these, or a majority of them, he shall appoint also the officers of the territory. The parishes shall be left free to choose their own preachers, who, however, must be examined and approved, either at Zurich, St. Gall or Constance. Only with the consent of the governor and the twelve can they be removed, or suspended from office. Rents, tithes and other lawful taxes, which are to be applied according to a former resolution, shall be paid over to a receiver, appointed by the city of St. Gall, who shall render a faithful account of the same. Whatever unchristian burdens have been laid upon the poor inhabitants by superstition or monkish rule, shall be abolished, and in order that the honest people may be the better able to help the poor in these dear times, the two cantons cheerfully authorize them to appropriate the ornaments and jewels of the churches to this more christian purpose."

In vain did the abbot protest against these arrangements; in vain did he threaten to look out for other protectorate cantons; in vain did he beg for active interference on the part of Luzern and Schwyz. Still discouraged by the untoward issue of the first campaign, they advised him to yield for a while, in hope that affairs would take a more favorable turn, and indeed thought it best that he should withdraw for a time. This he did, and went to Ueberlingen, where, in the beginning of the year 1530, amid much rejoicing, he found the object of his desires.

The proceeding of Zurich against the abbot and the monastery was carried on mainly by Zwingli; and that with increased zeal since his return to the fatherland. More and more, after the Marburg Conference, did he display the character of a politician—sometimes daring in the choice of his means. Thus he was to show himself to be only a man; and, as the most in-

fluent statesmen are very often obliged to do, as a vehement man; forever striking must the contrast remain between the greatest of all ages and all countries, and Him, who was indeed tempted in all things like as we are, but who alone was never overcome.

Without doubt the Savior of the world directed his attention to political life, and Christianity and politics are in no wise antagonistic. On the contrary, it is the aim of Christianity to elevate and ennoble even earthly relations; it is the true religion of the people. No saying is so misunderstood, so entirely twisted from its real meaning, as that uttered by Christ: "My kingdom is not of this world." This earth, the theatre of divine love and power, is represented as a vale of tears—a welcome doctrine to all secular and spiritual lords, who, through its spread, have only the less opposition to fear against their iron rule; and, only the more secure in the enjoyment of their state, agree in making it truly an abode of sorrow to millions of their subjects. There is no doubt that Christianity teaches us to bear and suffer; no doubt that it says: "Whosoever shall smite thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also," and "whosoever shall compel thee to go with him one mile, go with him twain;" no doubt that it teaches the duty of submission to rulers, and has no sympathy with rebellion and self-aid by resort to arms; yet far more strongly and impressively does this same Christianity speak to magistrates and rulers, and tell them that men are not born lords and slaves, but brethren, and that they are the greatest who are the servants of all. Christianity wishes no forms of government, nor will it make them lawful, yea necessary, whilst overgrown wealth may find out means to chain down despairing poverty, by which reckless debauchery may riot in palaces, whilst in the hut, hard by, the restless laborer cannot earn bread enough to prolong his miserable existence. It will have the right to moderate enjoyment purchased by self-

control and self-denial, and the capability to govern proven by the capability and practice of obedience; along with greater rights it places greater duties; with greater advantages it invariably connects greater burdens—and whilst it enjoins submission to God as an equal duty upon all, it does not make order in the state rest upon parchments or voluminous codes of laws, upon standing armies or public prisons, but upon the law written in the heart, upon love and a sense of duty.

Whether the time has ever arrived in any single country for such a transformation of politics, such a religious consecration of the forms of public life, is quite another question. That it did not exist in the days of Christ, that the seed was then only planted in the earth, to spring up afterward, when watered by the noblest blood, he himself has acknowledged and declared; but that the hour will yet come, when the grain of mustard-seed will grow up into a great tree and overshadow all the earth with its branches, he has also proclaimed; and happy the rulers, happy the law-givers, who have power to understand their great mission in the light of true Christianity. Why was the first appearance of the Reformers hailed with such universal joy, their annunciation of the Gospel with such hosannas, by the people? Because the presentiment had been awakened in millions of hearts that the day of freedom was dawning and the hour of their deliverance from spiritual and corporeal bondage had arrived. But what could liberty do for minors, who had been neglected for centuries, for the uneducated, for congregations without schools and incapable of comprehending the better religious instruction, which made but slow progress from the lack of qualified teachers? Fanatics, like the leaders of the Anabaptists, took hold of their excited minds and caused Luther and Zwingli to tremble at the consequences of their own boldness. The bands which were loosened, were partly drawn tighter again by Luther in monarchical Germany, in that he

adhered the firmer to belief upon authority*, and by Zwingli in republican Switzerland, in that, from the man of the people, he became the man of the government. Moreover the necessary enthusiasm among the people died away, till an hour of later trial, and it became an easier thing for the active enemies of the Reformation to awaken repentance in some, produce indifference in others, and win over individuals by means of promises. To the subjects of the abbot they used language like this: "What do you gain by casting off allegiance to your former sovereign, when you only get a severer one in his stead? Far more seldom does an ecclesiastical government call out its people to war; it gives a more efficient support to the poor; it does not lessen, nay rather increases the number of holidays; preaches no austere and gloomy morality; is patient and long-suffering, provided only no attack be made upon the faith." There were not a few, who lent open ears to such appeals. At a conference between their deputies and those of the Glarners at Wyl, the Zurichers were obliged to feel this. Envoys came also from Luzern and Schwyz, and the newly reviving party of the old faith rallied around them. Then arose a tumult among the latter, and for a moment the danger was so great that the Glarners meditated flight, but the Zurichers ordered an alarm to be sounded. The people ran in from all sides, and the majority was found favorable to the Reformation, at least not hostile to Zurich. This soon appeared in their language and behavior. A treaty was now concluded between the parties, and the provisional government of the Zurich captain acknowledged and guaranteed by a permanent garrison of trusty soldiers in the castle. But Luzern and Schwyz renewed their complaints before a conference of the Five Cantons, and it was re-

* Belief, at the command of the church, even without personal conviction.

solved to appeal to Bern with a full representation of the faithless conduct of Zurich in the affair of St. Gall, and an earnest protest against it. Two skillful orators, the *schultheiss* Golder of Luzern, and Joseph Amberg of Schwyz, were commissioned to do this. They behaved with great propriety and moderation, promising, on their part, a careful guard over their own people, and a strict observance of the *Landfriede*: "Dear Confederates," so they said at the close of their speech, "we place in your hands our fate, as well as our rights. Both we believe have been grossly violated by the conduct of Zurich. If we are wrong, then point out to us the rule; if the men of Zurich, then will you not be willing to support them in it; but believe not us alone, hear also the men of Zurich; believe not them alone, hear us also. Indeed! we only desire to abide by sealed treaties." Haller, who immediately reported it to Zwingli, did not conceal from him the fearful impression, which this speech made upon public opinion. "They have not," he added with anxiety, "yet deceived us; but they will." But it was not merely the affair of St. Gall, which began to awaken discord in the relations between Zurich and Bern. There was something far more important still. And here it becomes necessary to give a general sketch of the political views, which Zwingli had brought back from Marburg.

The Emperor Charles V., after an absence of several years in Spain, returned to Italy in the summer of 1529. In Genoa, where he landed, he was met by an embassy from the *landgrave* Philip and the German Estates who had signed the Protest against the resolutions of the Imperial Diet of Spire. This they were commissioned to hand over to him with respectful representations. But so ill was it received, that the envoys for a time were concerned for their personal safety. Audacious in the highest degree must this step of a few princes and cities have appeared to the head of the Empire, to him, who, not

many years before, had humbled, by the defeat of Pavia, the mighty King of France, whose sons he still held in a Spanish prison as hostages for the father, who was set at liberty—him, who had caused the Pope even to feel his power, but was now reconciled to Rome, and offered his aid for the more energetic suppression of all ecclesiastical innovations in Germany. Surrounded by Spanish counsels, by the clergy of that nation and Italians, he was busily engaged in forming various plans for future action, and only lingered yet in Italy, until he could be crowned Roman Emperor, by Clement II., which event occurred at Bologna on the 24th of February, 1530. Meanwhile reports, warnings of the coming tempest having reached Germany and Switzerland, produced an active correspondence between the Protestant princes, the *landgrave* Philip, Duke Ulric of Wurtemberg and the authorities of the more important cities. A personal interchange of opinions took place at Marburg, and the danger which threatened the free preaching of the Gospel and the Reformation was acknowledged on all sides, even by Luther and Melancthon; but as in the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, so now also, on the field of politics, Luther and Zwingli stood decidedly opposed to each other, and so little did the former share in the bold views of the latter, that the enterprising *landgrave* wholly despaired of an understanding with Luther, and communicated his plan of resistance against the Emperor first of all to a narrow circle, composed of Zwingli, Sturm and a few trusty friends of like mind.

The Saxon Reformer had, it is true, approved of the protest, made by the princes and cities favorable to the Gospel, against the resolutions of the Imperial Diet at Spire, but to go farther, to offer actual resistance, he regarded as unlawful. He saw in Charles the consecrated head of the Empire, to take up arms against whom appeared to him rebellion. It had first to be proved to him by lawyers, better acquainted with the Imperial

Constitution than he, that the individual Estates of the Empire had full authority to preserve their independence in spiritual matters, in every possible way, and then only did he yield a reluctant consent to the league afterward formed among the Protestants at Schmalkald. He was strongly opposed to inviting the Swiss to take part in it; until they were reconciled to his view of the Lord's Supper. More genial than Zwingli, trained to implicit obedience in the monastery, in earlier life a hard student of the church-fathers; whilst the Switzer in those years, when the most vivid and lasting impressions are made, had devoted his attention to the history of the ancient republics, the study of Roman and Grecian authors; Luther, although he publicly and resolutely condemned the severity and arbitrary conduct of princes, and warned them with boldness and power, was yet far more inclined to the doctrine of passive resistance against evil, the disarming of the enemy by innocent suffering, submission to every existing form of government, even though unjust and tyrannical—a doctrine which lies in the spirit of the Gospel, and was not only preached but practised by Christ himself, and confirmed by his own example. It is worth our while to hear the two Reformers on this fundamental point. Their peculiar views of it have naturally influenced their judgment in political matters.

“It is the law of Christ,” says Luther, “not to resist evil, not to grasp the sword, not to defend ourselves, not to revenge ourselves, but to give up life and property, that he may take, who will. For we have yet enough remaining in our Lord, who will not forsake us, since he hath so promised. Suffering, suffering—the cross, the cross is the law of Christ; this and nothing else. Will ye thus fight and not agree to let the coat go with the cloak, but try to get back the cloak again, though you should wish rather to die and leave the body, than not to love your enemies and do them good? O ye easy Christians!

Dear friends, Christians are not so common, that they can be gathered in a heap; a Christian is a rare bird! Would to God the most of us were only good, pious heathen, observing the natural, to say nothing of the Christian law! Christians are not to fight for themselves with the sword or harquebusses, but with the cross and patience; even as their general, Christ, does not wield the sword, but hangs upon the cross. Hence their victory does not lie in conquest and dominion or power, but in defeat and weakness, as St. Paul says: "The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but in God," and again, "His strength shall be made perfect in our weakness." According to the Scripture, it is not proper for any one, who will be a Christian, to set himself up against the authority, which God has placed over him, be it just or unjust; but a Christian should suffer violence and wrong, especially from his sovereign; for although Imperial Majesty does wrong and violates duty and oath, his imperial sovereignty is not thereby abolished, nor the allegiance of his subjects, as long as the realm and the Electoral Princes regard him as Emperor and do not depose him. Yet though an emperor or prince break all the commandments of God, he still remains an emperor and prince, and is bound to God by oath in a higher, and then to man in a lower degree. Were it right to resist Imperial Majesty when it does wrong, then we might do so in all cases, and remain without any authority or any obedience in the world, since every subject could use this argument, that his sovereign broke the laws of God. How then shall we act? Thus shall we act: Let it be granted to Imperial Majesty, that no prince or lord shall defend us against him, but that the land and people lie open to the Emperor as his own, and God commands this, and no one should desire otherwise of his princes and lords. Every one should then stand for himself and maintain his faith at the risk of his body and his life, and not drag the princes into danger with him, or trouble them

with petitions for aid, but let the Emperor do with his own as he will, so long as he is Emperor. But if the Emperor desire, beyond that, though the land and people lie open to him, to compel the princes also to attack, besiege, slay and banish their subjects for the Gospel's sake, and the princes know that in this the Emperor is wrong, and against God, then it falls back upon their own faith, for they should not obey the Emperor, in what they do not approve, nor help him, nor become partners of his sin; it is enough that the land and people are left unprotected and the Emperor unhindered, and they should say: If the Emperor wishes to persecute our subjects, as they are also his own, he may act according to his conscience; we are not able to prevent him. But we will not help him in it, nor approve of his course; for we must obey God rather than man." *

In regard to the impropriety of all individual resistance to authority, Zwingli agreed with Luther, and just as severely condemned everything that bore the character of riot or rebellion; but entertained, on the other hand, far more liberal views concerning the rights of the people, in their collective capacity, against their rulers; and here, supported by passages from the Old Testament, whilst Luther relied exclusively on the New, he developed a theory (an assemblage of propositions), which must have no doubt appeared suspicious to the German Reformers, living as they did under monarchical forms of government, and indeed, just as readily as his freer exposition of the words of the Lord's Supper, might have called forth that saying of Luther: "You have quite another spirit than we."

"Where a prince is overbearing and a wanton spendthrift," so he writes, "and the people undutiful and devoted to their own advantage, there tumults break out. But this also does not happen without that Divine Providence, which has num-

* Luther's Works by Pfitzer. p. 795, 796, 829, 830.

bered all the hairs of our heads, and by which the wantonness of the tyrant and the recklessness of the people are alike controlled. A seditious people are led only by wild passions; by rage and fury, not by reason. Rulers should then take care not to give occasion to the people to rebel. If they are truly wise and God-fearing, if they practice justice and equity, then God will not give them up to the wrath of the multitude; for He is mightier than they and does not forsake them, who trust in him and serve him. And we must warn the people also not to plunge themselves into ruin by sedition. Tumults are generally excited by those who aspire after honors and riches. Now, that it may not seem as if Christians care more for the human than the divine, they should obey even tyrants in things, that only oppress the body, and pay taxes to them, so that the Gospel may not be reviled on their account. A whole nation, on the other hand, can and should, in a lawful manner, with moderation and the fear of God, resist the unjust power of the tyrant, and if they do it not, then will they be punished by God along with the wicked prince. And how we may deal with such rulers, is shown by the clear example of Saul, whom God repudiated, although he had chosen him at first. Indeed if such wanton kings be not thrust away, the whole nation will be punished for it. Hence, when Manasseh, King of Judah, had done the most wicked abominations, "thus saith the Lord God of Israel; Behold I am bringing such evil upon Jerusalem and Judah, that whosoever heareth of it, both his ears shall tingle." In short, if the Jews had not suffered their King to riot thus unpunished, God had not punished them. We must pluck out the offending eye and cut off the diseased hand and foot. How this is to be done, it is easy to observe. Not by death-blows, wars, tumults, but by quite other means, for God hath called us to peace. Does the king or the lord of the common hand choose to do evil? then let the common hand put

him away, or be punished with him. Has he been elected by a small number of princes? then let those princes know that his wicked life can be borne with no longer, and he must be deposed. But here the difficulty arises: the tyrant may rush forth and murder them. That matters not; it is far more glorious to be put to death for well-doing, according to God's will than afterward to be slain with the guilty by the hand of God. But canst thou not endure the way, nor venture on it? then suffer with the wanton tyrant and be punished at last along with him, and still the hand of God is stretched-out and threatening. Is the tyrant chosen by no one? Has he inherited the kingdom? I do not know what reason such kingdoms have to spare him; for suppose the born-king is a child or a fool, still they must take him as their lord. But how can he rule? It must follow, that he is not, according to the common proverb of a king's son, either a fool or a king, but both together, a fool *and* a king. Moreover, the kingdom must be governed by other wise ones. Were it not better then to make a wise man king? for "wo to thee, O land, when thy king is a child!" They describe a tyrant as one who rules by his own power and after his own notion. Thus, I do not know whence it comes, that thrones are hereditary, unless from the common consent of the people. If now there be a tyrant, this or that individual should not undertake to kill him; a tumult would arise and the kingdom of God is "righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." But if the entire mass of the people with one accord, or the greater part of them, though they may be far from anarchy, depose the tyrant, then God is with them."*

Now, in Zwingli's eyes the Emperor was a tyrant of this very stamp, especially since his reconciliation and close alliance with the Pope. From this he augured the worst results—the sup-

* Zwingli's Works in the edition of Usteri and Vögelin. Vol. II. Part 2. pp. 453, 455, 456

pression of the Reformation and the freedom of the Gospel, all political liberty and even the subjugation of the Confederacy itself. "The Emperor," says he in a communication to his intimate political associates, "arrays friend against friend, or foe against foe, and then thrusts himself in between as a mediator, though all the while a partisan, ever intent on upholding the Papacy, and promoting, first of all, his own power and interests; and if he make war in Germany, he will do all he can to marshal the Castellan of Musso* against the Confederacy, the Bishop of Constance against the city of Constance, the Bishop of Strassburg against the burghers of Strassburg, the Five Cantons against Zurich, the abbot of St. Gall against the city, Duke George of Saxony against Duke John, to usurp his position as electoral prince, the Bishops on the Rhine against the *Landgrave* of Hesse, and similar enemies everywhere against the Evangelical Cities—and then he will march into Germany as a mediator, and with fair but hypocritical words befool the cities and lords, till they submit to him." To provide and arm against such plans he regarded as lawful, yea as an imperative necessity, desired a European alliance for this purpose, and publicly censured those who remained careless and inactive. "Ruined or lazy," he wrote to Conrad Zinck of Constance, a member of the Council, "are they, who look on idly and never trouble themselves about raising up a force sufficient to make the Emperor feel, that he will labor in vain to restore the dominion of Rome, occupy the Free Cities and conquer us Helvetians. Rouse Linden; rouse your neighbors to action. He is a fool who builds upon the friendship of a tyrant. Long ago Demosthenes observed, that nothing is so hated by such a despot, as the freedom of the cities." Ever since the Marburg Con-

* A powerful and dangerous enemy of the Reformed party in Switzerland, especially in Graubuenden, and he occupied the strongly fortified castle of Musso on the northern shore of Lake Como

ference, his connection with the *Landgrave* Philip was very intimate. Their correspondence, relating more to politics than to articles of faith, was carried on partly by signs mutually agreed upon, the name Pharoah being used for that of the Emperor. Indeed Zwingli went a step further than the German prince himself. He seriously thought of the possibility of removing Charles, and even wished it. "So great," he wrote to Jacob Sturm of Strassburg, "is the wickedness and perversity of the Emperor, that I believe the whole world should join together to rid itself of such a burden, in any way possible," and to the *Landgrave* Philip, in a style full of dreamy hope: "Our kind, gracious Lord causes me to write thus freely like a child, to Your Grace, for I am confident in God, that he has appointed Your Grace to great things, which I may indeed think of, but not speak."

Such being the disposition of the Reformer, it was not to be expected, that after his return from Marburg he would confine himself to the sphere of theology, or even to political affairs within the limits of the Confederacy. More and more did he accustom himself to look beyond the boundaries of the fatherland, and gradually induced a portion of the Zurich statesmen to do the same. In Marburg already, the fundamental features of a close alliance, to check the growing preponderance of the Emperor, was agreed upon. The *Landgrave* undertook to advocate the cause among his own princes; Zwingli among the Free Cities in Southern Germany, by means of influential clergymen and councillors, of whom he counted a considerable number among his correspondents. Through Switzerland a bridge was sought to Italy. The powerful republic of Venice was to hold the Emperor in check there, at least to aid in preventing the employment of all his forces against Germany; but a progress so daring, so foreign to the peaceful and cautious policy of the Cantons, as set forth by Zurich herself, some years

before, when the defensive alliance was concluded with France, could not but awaken suspicion and discord among the Confederates; hence it could only be discussed in the most confidential circles. Whether any one in the government of Bern knew anything about it, is uncertain. That it should be attempted is indeed almost incredible, did we not remember, how very easy it is for great minds, encouraged by former results, to persuade themselves that everything is possible to their own powers. In what a narrow circle the resolution to send an envoy to Venice was passed is evident from the fact, that he was not a statesman who was appointed, but Professor Collin, Zwingli's intimate friend, and the companion of his journey to Marburg, a man of no political experience, yet one who, in various walks of life, as canon, tradesman, partisan and public teacher, had tried his fortune, and proved himself useful in all; and who, besides dexterity and boldness, was also possessed of a thorough knowledge of the Italian language. Provided with credentials, somewhat ambiguous in their form,* he set out from Zurich alone; on the 11th of December, put to flight luckily two robbers, who attacked him on the plain of Brescia, and was introduced to the Doge and Council in Venice on the 28th of the same month. In his report to the Privy Council of Zurich may be found his address on that occasion. He represented himself as a deputy of the Council of Zurich in agreement with the cities of the Christian *Buergerrecht*, communities living jointly under free constitutions, like that of Venice. Natural and common interests bound them to resist a universal, all-devouring monarchy, such as the Emperor aimed at. He expressed the wish that Venice would enter into cor-

* On this point Collin himself says in his report: "The credentials could neither be read nor understood, for they were very badly written and in the most confused style; but I let them understand enough to satisfy them."

respondence with Zurich, who would act for the other allied cities, to communicate to them what happened in Italy on the side of the Emperor, or what transpired of his dangerous schemes. He excused the sending of a solitary, youthful, undistinguished man, to such an enlightened republic by the necessity of the case, the desire to avoid notice,—to conceal the movement toward a close alliance between two free states from the watchful glance of the Emperor and his assistants.

But Venice herself had just then concluded a treaty of peace with the Emperor. This was disclosed to the deputy, and a reply made to his offer in very general terms, so that the distrust, which a mission of such doubtful appearance awakened in the minds of the Doge and the Senate, could not escape his notice. He was strictly questioned as to what Confederate cities composed this *Bürgerrecht*, what opposed it, and what remained neutral. Everything was written down. The ceremonies with which he was dismissed, and a present of twenty crowns show also that no great importance was attached to the embassy. Far otherwise did they receive the ambassadors, who in former years had appeared before them in the name of the whole Confederacy. Although an attempt was made to keep the matter secret, it yet became known, and produced indignation among those who were not privy to it, and chagrin at the sorry roll which such crooked dealings obliged them to play. Zwingli alone and his princely confidants were not discouraged. "The transaction with the Venitians," he wrote to Duke Ulric of Wuerttemberg, "is greatly despised, but, as I observe from your letter, may yet turn to our advantage. For with my cousin (the *Landgrave*) there is no lack of devotion in person and property, as you can in some degree learn from his letters. Therefore he is willing to aid as much as possible toward a settled understanding, especially on account of the Venitians; for we may depend very much on the wheel of fortune to bring

about, what we never have been able to accomplish hitherto with great cunning. Time and opportunity are gone; they will not wait. The raging hand also is not idle; he prepares one grave after another." Pursuing his design with unshaken resolution, Zwingli hoped in the end to make it intelligible to the Swiss cities, who had formed the Christian *Buergerrecht*, that the alliance must be increased, in order to array against the great powers pledged for the destruction of liberty, great ones for its maintenance. In fact, at the close of the year, Strassburg was also admitted into the *Buergerrecht*; but when this city along with Zurich and Basel proposed that it should be extended likewise to the *Landgrave* of Hesse, Bern raised difficulties, and at last refused consent, with the remark, that she could not justify before her own subjects the admission of so remote a prince. Zwingli was highly displeased. "Bern always," he wrote to a friend, "sends *bears* to negotiate," and to another: "The Bear is lying in the pains of travail,—is jealous of the Lion (Zurich) and acts very unfairly towards him; but in the end she will have done with her tricks and take the manly resolution to bear away the victory." Certainly the Bernese government would have reason for anxiety in regard to the growing preponderance of Zurich in the *Buergerrecht*, if Zwingli could be supported in it both by Strassburg and the *Landgrave*; but its reluctance no doubt was just as much owing to its peculiar policy, which was always less concerned about the infusion of philosophical or theological principles into the national life, than about the maintenance of existing treaties and friendly relations as far as possible with all the Confederates.

The Anabaptists were still very active in Germany, but more so in Switzerland. In the countries favorable to the Reformation, the people were more violent, excited and difficult to rule and satisfy. Freedom of inquiry, of thought, had been applied

to political as well as theological matters. If it was boldly proclaimed from the pulpit: 'The kingdom of the Pope is not of God, because he lays upon us unnatural restraint, loads our consciences and makes us carry unnecessary burdens,' the transition was easy to the question: 'Shall the rule of the prince draw the skin over our ears at his own caprice?' Only two remedies for this evil were available in monarchical countries; either wisdom and moderation on the part of the princes themselves—a paternal government, according to the demands and in the spirit of the Gospel—or, where the rulers, as was yet frequently the case, were not qualified or able to achieve this, a revival of the doctrine of passive obedience—subjection in worldly things, as Luther maintained it. It is clear, that to uphold this doctrine in a republic was a more difficult task, and we have already shown, that Zwingli could not be numbered among its advocates. On the political arena the difference between his reformation and that of Luther began to grow more and more visible, and so hateful did the former become, that the *Landgrave* of Hesse even was obliged to come back again toward Luther, and exhort Zwingli to greater prudence and caution, especially after a saying of Erasmus had found its way to the ears of the nobles, that the design was to bring in democracy under the cloak of the Gospel.

Meanwhile the Emperor Charles had arrived in Germany and opened the Imperial Diet at Augsburg in person, in the summer of 1530. Here they, who were supposed to favor Zwingli's views, were in very ill repute. "On all sides," Jacob Sturm wrote to him, "we are suspected, as though we were hatching with foreign nations some marvellously dangerous plot for the overthrow of the Emperor and the Empire; yea, we are regarded as open rebels. Thou knowest how thoroughly false this is; yet there are some who, therefore, wish also to hear nothing about our articles of faith, because, they say, the report

goes,* that some of us have boasted, that we have provisions, arms and soldiers enough, not only to repel force with force, but also to invade the territory of our neighbors. There are those who affirm that we have already portioned out among ourselves the ecclesiastical principalities, before the victory, and I know not what other follies. In short, the Papists, and even those who otherwise have declared themselves for the Gospel, act against us here, openly and secretly, so that our destruction would be decided on, if it only depended on them. If the Lord himself does not pity us, does not stand by innocence and truth, then will our mighty and raging foes yet devour us alive. No one defends us more than the *Landgrave*, and even he does not venture to do it publicly, but only to advocate our cause in narrower circles. To us, ears and access are completely closed; we are crippled in all our members. From an appeal in person, or from thy servants here, whom thou couldst entrust with the Gospel, there is nothing to hope; should circumstances meanwhile take a more favorable turn, I will send you word." And yet the *Landgrave* of Hesse, in a special conference with the Emperor, had fearlessly defended himself and his friends, without however giving among them the name of Zwingli, a confession of faith from whose hand had just then reached Augsburg, and was viewed with the greatest displeasure. The ingenious Switzer had woven into it some passages of a political nature, which, though cautiously done, in his opinion, could not but produce an unfavorable impression in the Imperial Court, as it then stood. It contains among other things: "I

* A confession of faith, from the four cities, Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau, which was especially presented to the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, but neither received nor read, like the so-called Augsburg Confession drawn up by Luther and Melancthon, and signed by the German Princes, even the *Landgrave* Philip, at least during any session of the Estates of the Empire.

well know that the ruler, chosen or appointed in a lawful manner, occupies the place of God, no less than the priest; but as the priest should be a minister of heavenly wisdom and goodness, to defend the faith and bring errors to light, so also should the ruler be a minister of divine goodness and justice; goodness, in that he listens to and cares for his subjects with fidelity and self-sacrifice, like God; justice, in that he holds in check the impious and wicked and protects the innocent. If he does this, then he preserves a quiet conscience, and has indeed nothing to fear; if he does it not, and thus surrounds himself with fear and terror, I cannot think that his conscience will be idle, only because he has been chosen, or placed there, constitutionally. Yet, for my part, I believe that a Christian should obey such a tyrant until the opportunity is offered, of which Paul speaks: "Canst thou make thyself free? then delay not." But this opportunity will be pointed out to him by God alone, not by man, and that not doubtfully, but as clearly and plainly, as when Saul was rejected and David chosen his successor." It is easy to see, that, amid the universal excitement then prevailing, language like this, so unusual in documents laid before the Imperial Diet, as well as him who employed it, would be styled dangerous. More than ever did Charles and his brother Ferdinand, King of Hungary, withdraw their favor from the Reformed party and incline toward the Catholics. But just in proportion as Zwingli was convinced, that the number and hatred of his enemies in the German Empire were increasing, his own earlier dislike to France and fear of an alliance with her, appear to have essentially diminished. Already, in the secret political conferences held at Marburg, he directed his attention to that country, and it may indeed have been through a French channel, that a portion of the news concerning the transactions of the Emperor in Spain and Italy, especially with the Roman See, reached there. Still the French monarch,

Francis I., was not at all friendly to the Reformation. In his own kingdom he tried to keep it down by force. His queen, a sister of Charles V., did much to strengthen this feeling. Just at that time letters from her brother at Augsburg, full of bitter complaints against the spirit of the Protestants, so hostile to all civil and ecclesiastical rule, were received in France. But what the King was not willing to suffer in his own dominions, he beheld not without secret pleasure in those of his envied and hated rival, for so he always considered the Emperor, in spite of all ties of relationship. Out of policy, therefore, in order to weaken the power of Austria, he supported the German Protestants; and out of policy his envoys in Switzerland, Dangerant, *seigneur de Boisrigault* and Maigret, *seigneur de Villequoy*, sought access even to Zwingli. With Maigret it appears to have been equally a matter of spiritual interest; for he was inclined to the Gospel and in after life became a decided Huguenot.

We have seen how Zurich, as well as the other cantons, was formerly kept back from entering into a closer alliance with France chiefly through Zwingli's efforts. It is remarkable to observe now a total change in his views. Let us not condemn him unjustly, but hear him once more tell his own story. The true picture of the event will show that apparent inconsistency only sprang from an abiding enthusiasm, in behalf of the *one* great idea, to which he had consecrated his life. "The ambassadors of the King of France," he writes to Jacob Sturm, "have asked me for an opinion, as to how the power of the Emperor might be broken, or circumscribed, which I have written out in Latin; I had refused it twice, and only when they applied the third time, sent it to them with the knowledge of the Privy Council. It is now (Feb. 28th, 1530) the seventh day since Collin was despatched with it to the French embassy. I cannot tell whether my paper will be sent along with the

messenger to the King or not." This document was in the form of a letter, addressed to the cities of the Christian *Buergerrecht*. "It is a known fact," so it begins, "that in former centuries no kings and no people offered a more steady resistance to the overgrown power and tyranny of the Roman Emperor than the most Christian kings of France and the people of Helvetia. Through them, not only their own liberties, but those also of other princes, nations and cities have been maintained. Hence this alliance of powers—the greater one of France and the lesser of the Confederates (which latter are not able by themselves to sustain so great a war) cannot be dissolved without injury to the cause of universal freedom. This the kings of France have always kept in view. And, although at present the Five Cantons continue to stand aloof from the cities of the Christian *Buergerrecht*, and this in fact does not the less grieve the King of France, than if (God forbid!) his two sons were at variance, still he preserves the feelings and the policy of his ancestors, who valued the friendship and attachment of no people more than that of the Confederates. Hence, if he cannot effect a treaty with all Switzerland, on account of the above-mentioned schism, he is yet at least willing to conclude one with the cities of the Christian *Buergerrecht*, as well as those cantons, which are not distant in their views, namely, with Glarus, Solothurn, Appenzel and the Toggenburgers; and it shall be of such a character, that even the Zurichers, who would not join the one concluded several years ago, can no longer have any reason to stand aloof, because it contains no articles contrary to the Divine law. For this purpose it shall also be submitted beforehand to the theologians and preachers of the Gospel in the Confederacy, since it is the dearest wish of the most Christian King himself, that the Gospel shall be maintained in its purity." The chief articles proposed by Zwingli are the following: Twenty years for the duration of

this alliance, whose special duty it shall be to defend the Christian religion, and that against every man who may assail it, without exception. If one of the two parties is disturbed, because it has received the Gospel or for other reasons, then the other shall send aid at the first call; should it, on the contrary, make the attack, then authority is given, to help only, if the reasons of the attack be found lawful. The troops of the cities in the service of the king shall be paid by him. If they desire help, then the king shall send whatever of cavalry and guns the treaty calls for, at his own cost. The articles of the Perpetual Peace, already existing with France, are to continue likewise in full force.

In a private letter sent to his near acquaintance, Maigret, along with this scheme, Zwingli also proposed, if the King would consent, to open the alliance to the *Landgrave* of Hesse, who, though "a young man, was yet prudent far beyond his years, magnanimous and resolute," and said there would be no reason either to regret the admission of the Duke of Wuerttemberg, "who, though driven from his country, was living in exile, but with a stout heart, and possessed of uncommon abilities, in union with ripe experience; and I may do much also among other cities near the borders of Switzerland. This I now say to thee, only in confidence."

It is evident that the Reformer had made himself familiar with the idea that his scheme would not be presented to the King in such a form. Indeed, how could the ambassadors have dared even to send it? The very form of the scheme—Zwingli venturing to speak in the name of the King, and demand, moreover that the public act, to be issued by him and the council of his own canton, should be first subjected to the censorship of certain preachers—would very probably have appeared to Francis extremely arrogant. For the Gospel he cared nothing. His heart was set upon Lombardy, for the possession of which

he had already waged two wars with Charles. But to carry out his plans there, he needed the aid of the Swiss, and hence the allusion to a division amongst them in the scheme would have ensured it an unfavorable reception. Some days afterward, Zwingli received written notice from both the ambassadors, that the time had not yet come to entertain propositions of this nature. Dangerant used such ambiguous language as to leave it doubtful whether he anticipated similar communications in the future, or wished to ridicule the whole affair. Maigret, who was well-disposed, remained in constant intercourse with the Reformer, and, at a later period, seems to have made a generous use of a sojourn of several months in France, to kindle there a more friendly feeling on his behalf, of which indeed there was great need.* He it was, who, after his return to Switzerland, exhorted Zwingli to develop the substance of his religious doctrines in a personal letter to the French King, in the hope, that by this means much of the prejudice of that monarch against them might be removed. The Reformer consented. In June of the last year of his life, the writing was finished and sent to Paris, where it is still extant in the Royal Library, a striking monument of firm faith, as well as noble candor. As before, against the Emperor, he also speaks against the French King in regard to political matters. Here we can only quote the beautiful passage, which, though little apprehended in that

* In a letter, written from France, by a German, in the year 1530, to the Privy Council of Strassburg—in order to urge them, by a delegation of skillful speakers, to the French Court, in the name of the German Protestants, to secure the entrance of the Reformation there, and to send along, if possible, a learned theologian—it is expressly stated: "Zwingli, Ecolampadius, or Carlstadt should be sent by no means, for they are too much hated, on account of the Sacrament; others, except Lutherus, may come; yet, as before said one of the delegation should be able to speak French, in order to deliver the address before the King."

age, and even violently censured by Luther, shows in the most vivid manner, how far he stood above his century, and how thoroughly he was penetrated by the conviction that Christianity is designed to be the universal religion—the kingdom of God, which must embrace all, who have an honest will. “I believe,” says he, “that the souls of the faithful in Christ, as soon as they have torn themselves loose from the earthly hull, rise to heaven, enter into closer union with the Godhead and enjoy an eternal happiness. Here, most Christian King, thou durst hope, if only like a David, a Hezekiah, a Josiah, thou hast made a wise use of the power, which God has entrusted to thee, to see Him in his essence, his form, in his almightiness and goodness, to become the partaker of the fruits of his blessing, not scantily, but to full satisfaction; yet not to that satiety which produces disgust, but that which, in blissful fulness, like the streams that roll everlastingly down to the sea and out of the pores of the earth renew themselves again, water the landscape, cover it with smiles and adorn it with a rich growth of flowers. The happiness, which we enjoy, will be without end, can never be exhausted, for no weariness comes there; it is ever new and ever the same. Then durst thou also hope to be taken yonder into the communion, the society, the confidence of all, who, from the beginning of the world, have led holy, wise, believing, steadfast, brave and righteous lives. There wilt thou find the two Adams, the saved and the Savior, Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judah, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, Samuel, Phineas, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, and the God-bearing Virgin of whom he prophesied, David, Hezekiah, Josiah, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul; there also Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, Antigonius, Numa, Camillus, the Catos and the Scipios; there Louis the Pious, and thy forefathers, the Louises, Philips, Pepins, as many of whom as walked by faith. In fine, never has there been a noble man,

never has there existed a pure spirit, a true heart from the beginning of the world till its end, whom thou wilt not find there, enjoying communion with the Father."

Let us now turn back to the Five Cantons. The *Landfriede* had operated to their prejudice, as compared with their Reformed Confederates. Still they strove in general to enforce its provisions, but according to that interpretation, which, at the conclusion of the treaty, they had put upon certain ambiguous articles. Special conferences among themselves, and with other co-religionists were not at all abandoned; but neither was this the case on the side of the Reformed. Yet when they met for the transaction of private business, the voice of moderation, especially in the beginning, was not seldom heard. Thus, at a meeting in Altorf, toward the end of August, 1529, Uri declared with warmth, "that, if any one of the Five Cantons were attacked contrary to the Peace, she would pledge life and property for its defence, but that in several cantons unbecoming language was used, and sundry markings done with badges (fir-twigs upon their hats), which was improper and a violation of the *Landfriede*; this they wished to maintain, and hence did not approve of such things, and it is their friendly request, that every canton will see it put away from among its people, though they have done it; for if war should come on account of such reasons above-named, she would promise nothing, and would feel bound to render no aid; the Emperor in the meantime should not be written to." A month later, at a another conference in Brunnen, Zug, in whose midst vehement passions were still alive, was warned in a similar strain, and "the deputy told of the unbecoming words which they used, that they should be put away, lest confusion might arise therefrom;" and again at Brunnen, in the beginning of the year following, it was resolved, that "words of reviling and abuse be put away, since they can lead to nothing good." They, who were guilty of these

offences, were, for the most part, proud, insolent partisan leaders, dreaded on account of their lawless character and warlike propensities, or else, head-strong young men, sons of politicians and distinguished councillors, and hence it was the more difficult to apply a remedy. The Zurichers declared themselves little satisfied with fines, or the imprisonment of some poor fellow or obscure hot-head, dragged out of an ale-house, when, on the other hand, in a large company, in presence of distinguished members of the Reformed party, a man like Captain Shœnbrunner of Zug was allowed to read, with ill-concealed malice, a dirty libel in which Zwingli was accused of unnatural excesses and a loathsome disease; but, on complaining bitterly of this, they only received the answer: "Our Lords have told Henry Shœnbrunner, that his conduct does not please them." It was not the abusive language of an obscure individual, which created such a stir, but that of an influential man, one who, a short time before, had been sent to the Imperial Diet at Augsburg and there honored with a personal interview by King Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother.

But, as among the Reformed, so also among the Catholics, it was found very difficult to persuade the most prominent leaders to use measures of conciliation. The Zugers distinguished themselves by their wild passion and energy. In order to increase their influence, they sought and obtained admission into the old confederation of the Four Forest Cantons, and they were the first who broached the idea of another alliance with Austria. At the very time, when Collin was dispatched to Venice, bailiff Thoss of Zug set out for Genoa, and obtained an audience of the Emperor, whom he followed to Bologna, where he was graciously received by the Pope. Bern had informed Zurich of this occurrence, and expressed her anxiety. Perhaps it was through his reports, that the Five Cantons were induced to send a delegation to the Imperial Diet at Augsburg, in the

summer of 1530. The delegation consisted of the *landvogt* of the canton of Luzern and the son of the then *schultheiss*, Hug, to whom *Baptista ab Isola* of Genoa was yet added. The latter, who probably accompanied Thoss on his return home, had received from Luzern the rights of citizenship and became the leader of a troop of Italian auxiliaries, which, in the subsequent war, the Papal legate enlisted for the Five Cantons. Besides the deputies, there went thither Captain Schœnbrunner of Zug, the *schultheiss* Hebolt of Solothurn and Rennward Gœldin, a distinguished Zurichier, who, from indignation at the law against desertion, had left his native city and espoused the cause of the Five Cantons. The abbot of St. Gall followed. At the Imperial Diet they all sought assistance from the Emperor, or at least endeavored, for the encouragement of friends and the terror of foes, to make the impression that they would obtain it. For this purpose reports of their brilliant reception and the marks of honor bestowed on them were spread everywhere—how often they had spoken with the Emperor and his brother—how often they had been summoned to confer with influential and illustrious men. But, on the other hand, reports of quite a different character reached Switzerland from the observers of the Reformed party, of whom an unknown citizen of St. Gall appears to have been the most active. His long letters, full of details, were immediately communicated by St. Gall to the allied cities. Touching the abbot and the embassy of the Five Cantons, he expresses himself in the following manner: “Kilian, the pretended abbot of St. Gall, came hither on the 9th of July. I have seen him several times, and conversed with his chamberlain and his chancellor on the street, when they saluted me; yet they betrayed nothing. The chancellor told me, that his gracious lord was here only to receive a fief from the Bishop of Chur; item, to wait and see also what would be done at the present Diet and likewise how it would go with

others of the clerical order, as well as himself. Indeed, his case is such, that even if the just-named abbot had received wise council, he could not, in my judgment, accomplish anything. The said Kilian lodges with one Fischer, at a hotel in some obscure street. On the 10th of the present month, he dined with the Bishop of Constance; and then on the 11th, in front of the Bishop's chamber, paced up and down, giving vent there to his sorrow, anguish and misery, and cries to the Virgin, for more than an hour, before he was admitted; then without doubt the words of the said bishop gave him comfort; though I hope their scheme will prove a gross failure, since I, by the help of God, as far as I can learn the issue of this business, will send My Lords the very earliest information thereof. Touching the embassy of the cantons: First, the deputies of Luzern arrived on the 5th day of this month (July). By the command of the Emperor, they are lodged at a respectable inn, not far from the court of the Emperor and King. The *vogt* of the canton has presented and delivered to the Emperor many letters, without doubt supplications and apologies for royal treaties and seals broken on compulsion and other similar things in writing. But I cannot see, that the Emperor can give them any special attention, till the decree of the Diet, in regard to the faith and other articles of like nature, are made known. Then, there are deputies from Zug, but I cannot see, that they do much business, except to curry favor with the men of Luzern and keep up appearances, by begging money for the sham-abbot Kilian and offering him a *placebo* (*i. e.* delusive promises of help); thus at no cost to themselves (but I forget—Kilian must undo his purse-strings and be his own treasurer and steward) they can see the Emperor, King and members of the Imperial Diet; therefore, if the Emperor, sometime ago, wished to form an alliance with them, which caused them to be regarded as very distinguished and useful; now, upon near acquaintance, he

will possibly load them with costly gifts and marks of honor. Mark Sittich (Austrian governor of the frontier-province of Vorarlberg in the Tyrol) is laboring hard for this. Although, gracious Lords, great plans and schemes are devised for the persecution of the Common Confederacy, to wit, the evangelical cities—Bern, Zurich and their allies and Christian co-burghers, yet are they, in my judgment, only vain, proud and bragging fools, who busy themselves here, in a restless and violent manner, in these proceedings against us. On the fourth day of July, Mark Sittich made loud complaint to the Emperor about the Zurichers, how they withheld by force what belonged to him. The Zurichers should be written to on the subject. These things need looking after, and I now give Mark's scheme and plan of action with the names: Thus, the Christian cities in the three cantons are to be surprised, assaulted and taken; namely, by the Duke of Savoy, with the help of Wallis (*Valais*) and Freiburg proceeding against Bern; item, the Emperor against Basel and Constance, and Mark Sittich, with squadrons from the abbacy and over the Rhine, and the hostile countries beyond, against us. Then the city of Strassburg is to be besieged. In case the cities, bound by their burgher-oath, send forth troops to aid their comrades, these troops are to be suddenly attacked upon the road and no one left to tell the tale.—All this would perhaps take place, if the Turk had not marched against Vienna. I have good hope in God, our Redeemer, that these fellows will fail in many, yea more than half their plans. Therefore, you, my Lords, may be unterrified if such stories reach your ears, for our Savior does not bless such base designs. And though it should happen, it will only redound to His honor and glory."

From these and similar reports we may certainly infer, that the deputies of the Five Cantons, as well as the abbot of St. Gall, did their utmost in Augsburg, to win over the Emperor

and individual members of the Imperial Diet to their cause, and found also zealous advocates. Yet no record of any formal resolution passed in their favor, or a revival of their alliance with Austria, is extant. On the contrary, they appear to have returned home not altogether satisfied, and toward the close of the year 1530, their general behavior exhibits more of despondency than hope, whilst Zurich assumed a still more hostile attitude; and Zwingli himself was little inclined to oppose it. Through his efforts, his exhortations, his correspondence, his travels the Reformed party grew stronger day by day. Zurich was everywhere ready with her mediation, or protection—with complaints, if the Five Cantons, with threats, if their subjects endeavored to prevent the preaching of the Gospel. Here, in the territories, in which the Catholic states also had a share, a monastery was broken up to-day, because the mass of its occupants so desired, and sometimes too, as happened at Katharinenthal, near Diessenhofen, because intimidated by force and terror, and there to-morrow, in a parish hitherto devoted to the old faith, the Reformation, after repeated voting, was carried by a small majority. Of course a preacher was immediately sent thither, and rarely did they stop, until they had obliged the ejected Catholic priest to retire. Some time previous, the Thurgovian *landweibel* (high sergeant), one of the most powerful props of the Old Faith party, when passing through Zurich in the retinue of a *landvogt* from Unterwalden, had been there thrown into prison and beheaded; and the *landvogt* Stocker from Zug, on complaint made to Zurich by the Thurgovians, found himself, through the assistance which the former granted to the people, compelled to flee the territory. The *landvogt* Kretz from Unterwalden met with the same treatment in the Rheinthal, but in this case without the aid of Zurich. It certainly cannot be denied, that a considerable portion of the clergy—of the monks, who were ejected from the

Territories in consequence of the Reformation, were men without knowledge, often without morals and generally of little worth, and that the three civil functionaries just-mentioned, had, by their harshness, immorality and acts of violence, stirred up the righteous indignation of the people; yet the forms, under which Zurich proceeded, were not those of confederate law, but the offspring rather of an arbitrary will, whose continued assumption of power tended only to awaken the most bitter animosity amongst the Five Cantons, and found no approval with her own party, including even the cities of the Christian *Buergerrecht*. The good end could not justify the unlawful means. And still less was this the case, when, in spite of the decided protest of the other cantons of the protectorate, she allowed herself to make a one-sided scale of salaries, increasing the revenues of benefices in the parishes, which had accepted the Reformation, at the expense of the rest; and compel Catholics, who had resigned these benefices, to call in Reformed preachers and pay them more, than required by the treaties. In vain did the Five Cantons raise a voice of protest at all the sittings of the general Diet; in vain did they send embassies with complaints and prayers for redress to the other states. Zurich pushed forward, secure of support from the majority of the people in the Territories.

But more yet was in reserve, and principally through Zwingli's influence. He too sank under the weakness of our common humanity; as Luther and Calvin in solitary moments, as Borromeo and Francis de Sales, as the Apostles themselves. *One* alone never yielded, and proved by that very fact, that He had come from God. A writing of the Reformer, still extant, its margin covered with corrections, improvements and additions—signs of great mental agitation—shows incontestibly, that with him also, in hours, when his feelings may have been embittered by the unworthy attacks to which he saw himself more and more ex-

posed, hatred had prevailed over love, passion over calmness of spirit, and earthly policy over the guidance of faith. It has this heading: "What, in the dealings of the Five Cantons, there is need for Zurich and Bern to ponder over." It affords us a deep glance into his inner life, and reveals to us the plans with which he was occupied; and whilst the cold-blooded reader, who sees in history only the results of human struggles, and declares those most successful, where the most comprehensive means have accompanied the grandest designs, may read these with admiration of Zwingli's political sagacity, he, on the other hand, who measures all things by the rule of the Gospel, will be obliged to condemn them.

Any one, who derives his knowledge of the history of that period from original sources, and has read the numerous bills of complaint, handed in, even at the recesses of the general Diet, by the people of the Common Territories, and the results of the investigations, which, in most cases, proved them to be just and well-founded, can imagine the indignation which Zwingli's view of the case called forth. But to an honest will other means of redress stood open, before resort to such extreme measures—to plans that would shake the Confederacy to its very foundations. But indeed, it is almost certain, that these plans were never formally laid before the authorities of Zurich and made the subject of official deliberation. They may have been communications to a narrow, confidential circle of friends, drawn up more as a frank confession of his own political faith, than with any hope that their complete execution was so easily possible in the coming age. Still, they afford us the necessary key to a right understanding of the part played by him in the affairs of the Confederacy, during the last two years of his life, and hence we cannot omit here the main ideas. "In ancient times," so he writes, "Zurich and Bern united as confederates with the Four Forest Cantons, Luzern, Uri, Schwyz, and Un-

terwalden. The power of both parties was then equal and they held faithfully together, but the burden of the wars against their enemies on all sides was great. The cities were the bulwarks; they had not the mountains, the passes, for their defence. As their territory increased, the greater injuries fell upon them and the greater costs. With fairness they could have demanded a change in the relative proportion of right in the federal councils. But Zurich and Bern were content with some insignificant grants, respecting the division of booty according to the number of soldiers, which the treaty of Stanz allowed them; and the Cantons still kept twice as many votes as the cities, although the latter, yea even sometimes *one* of them performed as much as all the former put together. This produced arrogance among those who, in the beginning, were modest. *They* were the governors of the common bailiwicks; *they* acted often without consulting the cities. *They* have strengthened themselves in our times by the admission of a fifth canton. *They* concoct everywhere their schemes, before the meetings of the federal diet; for *them* the fruit must ripen, where they did not sow. Shall the two cities endure this any longer? They are confronted with the federal league, in opposition to the treaty of Stanz, which guarantees their rights, their number of votes at the diet, in relation to the Territories; but every claim, privilege or power, is dissolved or broken, according to divine and human law, when they are misused. The land of Palestine is an example. In eternity was it promised to the children of Israel. In eternity were they driven out from it, when they transgressed the commandment of God. Rome brought into subjection Alba Longa and the Sabines, from whom she herself had sprung, because they did not keep the peace and act fairly as neighbors. In history such examples are innumerable, and it is God's Word that says: 'Put away the evil from among you.' Moreover, it is highly necessary for our

union to lessen their power, or to separate from them. For years back, neither discipline nor order has been found amongst them. And where these fail, no government can stand. If it be said, they have their own rights, their own power, their own government, which must be left to them, and though these all be abused, we have no right to say anything, then the answer is: No compact can exist contrary to justice, and if the one party overlooks this, falls away from it, then the other should hold them to it, yea, compel them, and if the Five Cantons are henceforth lost to all sense of right, then it is "certain, that they must be punished and will be uprooted." So the eleven tribes of Israel slew the twenty five thousand Benjamites, and so the Romans punished the Carthaginians, until they brought them into complete subjection.

"Two things only are now to be considered—*when* and *how* we shall punish them. *When?* Truly it is best to attack them *at once*.

"France will remain neutral; the Emperor is entangled in the affairs of Germany; they can obtain no help either from Confederates or foreigners, are ill supplied with guns and other necessities, and besides, there are also many good people among them, whose hearts are more with us than with them. Only, do not begin with prohibiting the export of provisions; this will not suffice, and prove rather injurious to ourselves. 'By destroying the bailiwicks (*vogteien*), by annulling the federal compact, and by invading their territory, we must force them to obey;' and if the latter will not do, because it seems too dreadful, then let us immediately lay hold on one of the other means.

"*How so?* The best is, for our two cantons in concert to seize on the bailiwicks, indeed to hold back their rights from each of the others, who have share in the government of the Territories. Then it may be the most advisable to divide the

bailiwicks. But the division is not to be made according to the number of the ruling powers; their method is not to be established by a majority of votes; for, in that case, Zurich and Bern would be shamefully cheated, since the majority has always been on the side of the Five Cantons. No! if justice is to be done, let the ruling powers be broken into three equal parts—Zurich and Bern to form two, and the rest one. Indeed if real power, influence and importance were taken into account, Zurich and Bern would be entitled to six-sevenths. Fairness requires the division to be made according to the proportion of two to one. And this can and will happen, if both cities are united, if, in the prosperity of the one, the other seeks hers also, and desires no increase for herself without the increase and advantage of her neighbor. Each shall endeavor also to form alliances with foreign cities lying near; yet not alone, but in common, ever going hand in hand, pledging friendship for friendship, and neutrality for neutrality. In all the other cantons, sensible people shall be informed, what great injury may result to them from the continual mismanagement of the Five Cantons at home and abroad. Hence it will follow, that the other cantons will also let the Five drop; for their power now, since the introduction of artillery into all wars, is so small, that no danger need be apprehended from them. Then too, the cities are better armed than they, and will accordingly gain, if their power is broken or diminished. Moreover, the ignorance of the Five Cantons, in everything that belongs to government, is a reason why we must separate from them; for, if brothers keep house together, and one of them does nothing and only squanders, then they must divide, or the spendthrift will bring them all to poverty.

“But, that they cannot govern, is proved by all their proceedings in the German and French bailiwicks. In the French cantons they have ruined the bailiwicks by taking bribes for sentences and appeals and doing it so scandalously, that no hon-

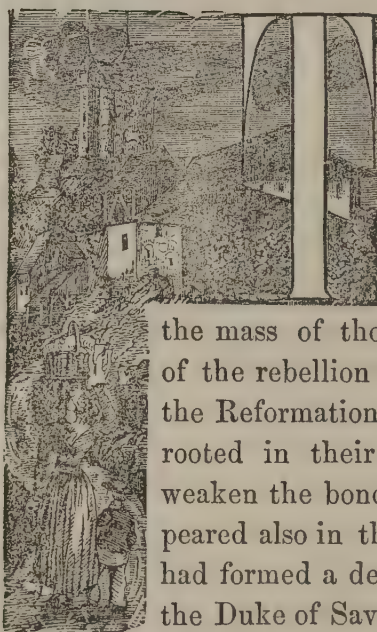
est man can see or hear it without great pain. It is fast coming to a rupture also in the German bailiwicks. Thither they send, either haughty and avaricious *vogts*, or those of loose character, who rob, break every thing to pieces, and so behave that every one grows tired of them, and if a separation does not take place, the general indignation will in the end be transferred to the *vogts* of the cities also; for already have several of the latter been imprisoned for following their shameful example. These riotous fellows drink, gamble and live with lewd women, to the great scandal of honest people. In short, if we be not divided from them, or their power be not so diminished, that they must stand in dread of Zurich and Bern, then surely a schism will be created among the cantons, as terrible as that between the Guelfs and Ghibelines in Italy. *Summa summarum*: He, who cannot be master shall be a miserable slave. This is written down hastily, in order that both cities may see what is the most pressing want of the time, and the more bravely lay hand to the work. No one should indicate the author, but say: God grant grace!"

God indeed does grant grace to every thing, which, out of a pure knowledge of it, happens according to his will, and falls back upon it. And God did grant grace to every manly, true, loving word of the Reformer, uttered in behalf of spiritual freedom, to the unmasking of hypocrisy and abominable priestcraft—grace to every thing that he did and suffered, to bring back faith in the Word of God to the only foundation, upon which it rests unshaken, purity of heart and will, and the personal experience of the blessing, which springs from all truly evangelical conduct. For this Zurich thanks him, and is bound so to do, as long as she exists. But God is also just. No departure from the right path can be long continued without injurious consequences, and least of all in the strongest and most highly gifted. The deviation from those plans, perhaps the greatest error

of his life, and all that was done in the spirit of them—the servant of the Gospel, which requires kindness, patient correction of a straying brother, and in civil life the sacred observance of treaties, he and Zurich must mourn over.

CHAPTER NINTH.

VAIN ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILIATION. EXPORTATION OF GRAIN PROHIBITED. OUTBREAK OF WAR. BATTLE OF CAPPEL.
ZWINGLI'S DEATH.



THE more rapid the advance of Zurich, the slower that of Bern became. She could count less on the support of her own subjects than the former. In the Oberland, the fire yet glowed beneath the ashes; discontent prevailed among the mass of those, who were punished on account of the rebellion of 1528. With that rude people, the Reformation, hastily carried out, and not as yet rooted in their minds and hearts, had tended to weaken the bonds of allegiance. Signs of war appeared also in the west. Geneva, with whom she had formed a defensive alliance, was threatened by the Duke of Savoy, and not fully relying on her own citizens, called on Bern for help. The Government delayed, but finally asked the Confederates for their usual contingent. The Five Cantons refused it; and Zurich also, concerned for her own safety, hesitated about marching an army to such a great distance. Urged by the repeated demands of Geneva, Bern at last sent out 5 000 men, who passed through the Pays

de Vaud, burning and pillaging, to the great terror of the inhabitants, and in the end became troublesome in Geneva itself, through their want of discipline. A treaty with Savoy, concluded at St. Julien, restored peace for a while; but the lack of zeal manifested by Zurich, in not coming to the succor, could not but dampen the sympathy of the Bernese in her affairs.

Two new events occurred, to make her condition only the more critical. The biennial term of the governor-general of St. Gall expired with the close of the year 1530. A Luzerner was to take the place of the retiring Zurich. Before she would give her consent to the change, Zurich demanded of him a public avowal, in favor of the Reformation, and an oath to protect the people of the abbacy. Luzern entreated her to dispense with such an avowal, and be content with that oath, by which he was pledged to maintain the *Landfriede*, on the ground that this of itself would serve to protect the Reformation, wherever introduced by a majority of votes. Zurich persisted in her demand. She wished all others to put the same construction on the *Landfriede* that she did. In consequence of this, the governor-general Frei not only refused to leave Wyl, but marched also at the head of an armed troop of the abbey-people, beyond the limits of his jurisdiction, to compel two parishes in the Rheinthal, where strife had arisen, to accept the Reformation. Vainly had Bern, on complaint of the Five Cantons, implored Zurich to keep faith and admit the Luzernese governor-general, on the strength of the pledge required by the *Landfriede*, thus giving his administration a trial. No escape being left for the Five Cantons, except an appeal to the Confederates, a General Diet was assembled in Baden, on the 8th of January. The unanimous instruction of the Five Cantons at this Diet shows the position which they were resolved to maintain, as well as what was expected from their federal associates.

"We had hoped," so said their deputies in accordance with their commission, "that all our Confederates had been sufficiently convinced by deeds, of our firm purpose to uphold the peace and all treaties. But to us of the Five Cantons, in general, and each in particular, such manifold injury has been done, since the treaty of the *Landfriede*, so many innovations exacted, and so many attacks made upon our rights, that to detail all this would be an endless and perplexing task. Something, however, shall be presented, to show that we do not complain without reason.

"In the first place, we have to speak about the governor-generalship of St. Gall. The place fell by right, on last St. Catharine's day, to our Confederates of Luzern; but you, Confederates of Zurich, prevented the governor from entering on his office, brought up new articles, which you required him to receive beforehand, and demanded an oath to the peasants; and when we justly complained, you sent in return detailed missives, without any color of law, (which may be examined, if necessary), and formally refused in the end to respect our rights. We are highly aggrieved that any canton in our Confederacy should lose all regard to justice, and that 'new contrivances should be found for twisting and glossing over our covenants and treaties,' so that no one may be bound to let law be law. Of such 'glossing over,' our forefathers knew nothing; in their time also everything went better than now. Then, too, our Confederates of Schwyz have been denied justice in another case. But, though you may think, Confederates of Zurich, that you have good reasons for acting thus, it yet does not become you to be yourselves the only judges of the validity of these reasons.

"Moreover, the government of the Territories has already been often discussed here in Baden. We believe, that the present resolutions would be valid, as soon as passed by a ma-

jority of the ruling cantons. For if the majority of votes is of no avail among those possessed of equal rights, how can treaties ever exist? Leagues and covenants are then made in vain. From rulers we become servants, if we must do that only which is commanded by a majority of one or two cantons. Indeed, in this way, we would by force and against law be driven out of all the bailiwicks, in which our forefathers won their share honorably and honestly, by the sword or by other means; and should we brook this from those who call themselves our friends and Confederates? God forbid! and with His help we will not suffer it.

"Touching that which you, in connection with Glarus and Wallenstadt, did there against our rights, an impartial court has been appointed according to your own request; but you have threatened, that if the judges do not decide in your favor, you will compel them so to do. Your governor in St. Gall, instead of taking leave, at the expiration of his term of office, has stirred up the people of the abbacy and led them into the Rheinthal, where neither you, nor yours, nor the governor have any right to act without us. There he has surprised and maltreated two poor congregations, because the majority have resolved to remain true to the Old Faith. Who can live with such friends, that do them more harm than enemies? Though we have suffered much from you hitherto, yet is our manhood unextinguished. We are lovers of peace. God is with such. He grants victory to the despised, and truly, he has not yet denied it to us.

"We do not wish at this time to relate minutely all that we have experienced at your hands in the Thurgau, Sargans, Baden and the County of Toggenburg. Because, up to this time, we have been everywhere deprived of our rights, we now send this last message to you and all the Confederates. The deputies shall especially inquire, whether, in the future, you and your

adherents will keep the federal compact and *Landfreide* with us, let a majority be a majority, act fairly, and whether deeds will go hand in hand with your promises. If this happen, then we will pledge ourselves also to do all that becomes honest Confederates. But if you, Confederates of Zurich, and whoever agrees with you in these affairs, will not desist from your undertaking, nor return to the federal compact and *Landfriede*, do not conceal it, so that we, on our side, may know what to do. And, if you are neither willing to do the former, nor make known to us the latter, then shall our deputies appeal to our dear Confederates of Glarus, Freiburg, Solothurn, Schaffhausen and Appenzell in the following manner:

“Dear Confederates, you have now heard how we have been treated, since the conclusion of the *Landfriede*. You know, moreover, how, just lately at a General Diet in Baden, when we paid down the money required by that treaty, Zurich and her adherents gave us a promise to abide faithfully by the federal compact and the *Landfriede*, and particularly to respect and obey the majority in the bailiwicks, as far as worldly affairs are concerned. How they have kept this promise, we leave you to judge. Though we do not now know, what may be done by others, we yet feel bound to uphold the *Landfriede*, which we indeed have never violated, but always observed, for you are aware how urgently we were solicited to pay over the money alluded to, lest further disturbance might arise therefrom—and hence we demand and exhort you, by our federal compact and the *Landfriede*, of which you yourselves are parties, to aid and support us in teaching the Zurichers and their adherents, that they must observe these treaties, according to their plain letter, and let a majority be a majority, as they are bound to do by all law, human and divine, and that you proceed therein with such earnestness, as becomes good Confederates; for we will no longer endure any more violence of

this sort. If no improvement takes place, we will seek out ways and means, to protect ourselves from injustice and abide by our own people. In this may the Holy Trinity aid us! Now, we desire from you a final answer, whether you will help us to our rights. If not, we will attend no more sessions of the General Diet, and with the best feelings do not conceal it from you."

Of all the charges made by the Five Cantons, Zurich applied none to herself. She had never violated nor attacked their rights in worldly things, even in the remotest manner. How could she then pledge herself to restore these rights? The whole dispute had arisen from an incorrect, forced interpretation of the *Landfriede* by the Five Cantons. The governments did not stand opposed to each other in religious matters, and the freedom of the Gospel or its limitation was not to be decided by a majority of the ruling powers in the Territories. The *Landfriede* itself guaranteed the former; therefore Zurich maintained, that she stood here also on perfectly legal ground; and, in respect to the governorship of St. Gall, had acted likewise in the spirit of this *Landfriede*, so that, if the Luzernese governor was not willing to comply with the conditions of Zurich, it was not her fault.

From these declarations of the parties, it is evident that the task of mediator was not an easy one. A new event occurred, to render it still more difficult. At the north-eastern extremity of Lake Como, stood the strongly-fortified mountain-castle of Musso. It was then occupied by Jacob Medicis, a bold and skillful adventurer, who had played an active part in the earlier Italian wars. Supported by his hired bands, he frequently sallied forth from his hiding-place, to the great disturbance of his neighbors in Valtlin and Graubuenden. He even ventured to interrupt the commerce of Graubuenden with Milan, and surprised and murdered two envoys, sent with complaints to

the Duke, on their return home. Yet more dangerous plans of his, in union with the Austrian authorities, against the Reformed Confederates, were talked of, and the report received some color of truth from the increasing preparations for war, as well as an attack at Morbagnio, upon the Graubuendners, who had marched out to secure their possessions, and whom, after a stout defence, he compelled to retreat. An appeal was now made to the Confederates for armed assistance. They all promised, and dispatched 5,000 men; the Five Cantons only persevered in refusing to furnish their quota.

"Here you see," said Zurich to the mediators, "their fidelity to the federal compact; here you perceive with whom they have secret intercourse—here, whether we were wrong in powerfully opposing the hypocrites." But it soon transpired, that Austria was not at all concerned in this affair, and rather disapproved the action of Medicis; and the Five Cantons sought to justify their inactivity by the necessity of defending their own borders in such critical times.

The states of the Confederacy, favorable to peace, now supplied the place of Schaffhausen, who had taken a decided stand with the cities of the *Buergerrecht*, by calling in the French embassy. The latter immediately turned to Zwingli himself. "Dear highly esteemed man," they wrote to him, "we have once before expressed our urgent wishes to thee, and thou hast not answered us. Very lately the King sent one of his nobles to us with another earnest command to do all in our power in aiding to restore and strengthen peace and concord between the Confederates. In this spirit we addressed ourselves to the deputies (of the cities of the *Buergerrecht*) present at Aarau. Since we learn that they will soon assemble again in Zurich, we write to thee also. We beg, we implore thee, if, as we doubt not, the peace and welfare of Helvetia are near to thy heart, to do all in thy power to prevent any hostile act

against their Confederates from these men, whom we honor and esteem, and aid in bringing about a reconciliation. Indeed this is very urgent, for reasons which make it necessary, but which we have not now time to communicate, they are so many; and if thou knowest them thyself, thou wouldst esteem thyself happy in such a work, and must hereafter in the opposite case unavoidably condemn thyself; and that thou canst produce either the one or the other, of that we are convinced. If you push it to a war, not six months will go by before it will take such a turn, that the Zurichers will be sorry enough for what we now know and foresee. We pray thee think over the contents of this letter; perceive therein a proof of our sincere regard; inform us what can be done on your part to give the business a happy direction. For ourselves, nothing will gain us greater thanks from the King. On the contrary, if war breaks out among you, the victorious party must in the end be just as much weakened as the other. And beforehand already, must they, who should be afraid to cause it, be forsaken by their friends, because the latter, engaged to other allies also, must condemn such cruel, reckless and passionate conduct."

Zwingli did not suffer himself to be moved by this letter, and Zurich likewise persevered in carrying out her fundamental principle, to do everything for the freedom of the Gospel, even where she did not rule alone, or had but a small share of the sovereign authority—to do it also in the way of armed interference, if negotiation did not suffice. In vain did the advocates of peace redouble their labors; in vain did the warnings of Bern become more and more pressing. The governor-general Frei still prolonged his official term at Wyl, stirred up the people of the abbacy and conducted their affairs. A bill of purchase for the monastery was made out by the city of St. Gall, and a release of the Toggenburgers from all allegiance to the abbey for

the sum of 15,000 florins, which was ratified by Zurich, and through her exertions by Glarus also, in spite of protests from Luzern and Schwyz. In the Thurgau, Zwingli succeeded in applying the revenue, arising from fines in the lower courts, to purposes of charity, against all opposition of the magistrates, who had hitherto appropriated them to their own use. All this increased continually the number of his enemies and the complaints at the confederate assemblies, and among the advocates of peace. The language of the Five Cantons became more threatening; the subjects of Zurich, whom business led into the interior, were obliged to hear words of bitter reviling, and were even personally attacked; one of them had his horse killed in *Ægeri*. Much was reported about the rude speeches and rough manners of certain prominent individuals. By all this, on the other hand, Zurich sought to justify her conduct, and in fact the displeasure of the remaining cities of the Christian *Buergerrecht* was kindled anew against the Five Cantons, who were not able to quell the growing barbarity of many of their subjects; a proof of general corruption in morals, just where the greatest boast was made of ancient simplicity. The Reformer meanwhile had aided in establishing synods in the Thurgau, in Toggenburg and in St. Gall, and was frequently present at their sessions. Everywhere he saw the resolution of a majority of the people to fight, if necessary, for the Gospel. His presence inspired confidence and respect. In St. Gall he was honored by a musical festival, projected by one of his numerous friends, and in other places he preached to great crowds with general applause. Zurich should be true to herself, was his continual exhortation, and must persevere to the end. In order, therefore, to exert a new and powerful influence upon the cities of the *Buergerrecht*, Zurich invited them to hold a conference; which, with all in attendance, was opened on the 6th of March. A detailed list of the vile calumnies to which

influential leaders in the Five Cantons had given currency was presented, the declared resolution of Zurich not to suffer them any longer, and the petition for aid to prevent and punish them in the future. Bern regretted the calumnies, and acknowledged that Zurich had sufficient reason to be angry, but pointed to the mighty preparations for war, which the enemies of the Reformation were making in the Empire and Italy. The Five Cantons may be well aware of this, had perhaps received secret promises of assistance, and hence their leaders behaved more rudely of late. Then the guilt of this abuse, though so provoking in and of itself, should not be charged upon the cantons as a whole, but only upon certain individuals. Besides, the present scarcity of provisions should be thought of, and the very last means for peace exhausted, before arms should be resorted to. Hence her deputies proposed to send an embassy to the Five Cantons, from the collective cities of the *Buergerrecht*, even without Zurich, if she did not see fit to join it. Earnest expostulation and at all events a hint about prohibiting the export of provisions, in case a hearing were refused, could not remain without its due effect. Basel said that sending embassies and letters were useless. The overbearing disposition of these people, as well as their rudeness, was well known.—Deputies could easily meet in such a way as would only widen the breach. Let us once more call a Diet at Baden and bring up there our common complaints. Together we will demand a speedy remedy. If they promise, it is well; if not, our honor is preserved, though we break asunder. Schaffhausen and St. Gall expressed the same opinion, and Bern likewise fell in with the invitation.

Meanwhile, the latter had not been wrong in her conjecture. There were yet many undoubtedly in the Five Cantons, who were neither guilty of such rough sayings and doings themselves, nor approved of them in others. Indeed, the majority

of the rulers saw well that their position, hitherto not unfavorable, would be endangered thereby; and willingly would they have put away all such things, had it been possible to change the nature of the people. Hence their deputies, to secure whose attendance Bern had made great exertions, appeared in the General Diet at Baden with a tolerable degree of modesty.

They desired a copy of the complaints of Zurich, answered them as they were brought forward, point by point, as far as they could do this beforehand, declared the willingness of their lords to punish yet more severely after due investigation, and excused their people by the fact that they also were obliged to hear many a bitter speech among the Reformed, and one rude word begets another. Their faith too had been frequently assailed by the preachers, the mass spoken of with contempt, and they themselves called 'blood-sellers' and 'money-eaters,' in the pulpit. The sooner the cities would find out that such things were also punishable, the more ready would they on their side be to deal likewise with the unruly, and if their sentences would sometimes be less severe than the cities had expected, they were at liberty to treat the perpetrators according to their own pleasure, whenever they came within their jurisdiction. . At this juncture, the neutral cantons earnestly exhorted the one party to fulfill its promises, and the other to be satisfied with them. But when the deputies of the Five Cantons wished to speak yet about the state of the Territories, the Zurichers declared that they had no authority to touch upon these things, and so they parted, Zurich and the Five Cantons; neither put in a right position, nor brought nearer to each other.

But the former and Zwingli, in chief, were not at all inclined to be satisfied with what was done. They saw increasing danger in the continued postponement of all active interference. His sermons became warlike. Help must be extended to the

oppressed in the Five Cantons; the multitude of those, who desired the freedom of the Gospel, but from whom it was withheld in the most unjust and violent manner, against the plain meaning of the *Landfriede*. "There is no longer any safety," said Zwingli in the pulpit, "till the Reformation is thoroughly carried out. Its enemies would long ago have given way, had we only banished from our own midst all lukewarm, indifferent persons, and all secret traitors. Against these we must now proceed with untiring zeal and unfaltering purpose, even in the cities of the *Buergerrecht*. Our allies must be brought to support us in this, and not drag us down with them into the abyss through their culpable negligence." A deputation was now sent thither, composed of members of the Council, who visited Bern, Basel, Schaffhausen and St. Gall, and communicated an enlarged list of grievances, the warnings that had arrived from abroad, and a review of the conduct of the Five Cantons in the affair with the tyrant of Musso, in which they were accused of breach of covenant and a desire to bring about the ruin and destruction of the city of Zurich, as well as the dismemberment of a glorious Confederacy. "We can no longer, in any way, keep quiet and yet justify ourselves before our own people. We can, may, and will no longer let the matter drop, but undertake everything, which the high and serious nature of the case demands, everything which may be needful for the maintenance of Divine truth, and the deliverance of all who adhere to the same." The answers of the collective cities were asked for with all possible dispatch.

They arrived after a few days. Bern wrote in a grave and moderate tone; she greatly deplored the continued disturbances of the peace; yet, "since matters had come so far, and out of regard to their dangerous course," she prayed Zurich for this time to use no violence against the Five Cantons, but remain quiet till the next *Buergertag* (diet of the cities) in Aarau,

to which she had summoned her, Basel, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Biel and Constance. She said also, she was now compelled to declared positively, that if her Confederates and Christian co-burghers of Zurich should ever employ any actual force, *they need count on no help from her*; and might shape their plans accordingly. Basel and Schaffhausen showed far more sympathy, but likewise wished for a general consultation before further steps were taken. St. Gall begged Zurich to try peaceful measures once more; and if in vain, she then pledged herself to abide true to her obligations.

Zurich promised to attend the appointed diet, but did not suspend the preparations for war, which she had already begun. Her deputies, the burgomaster Roist, the banneret Schweizer and Jost von Knosèn, appeared in Aarau with binding instructions. They were to surrender nothing, hear no more plans of mediation, and consent to no longer delay of punishment. Bern persevered just as decidedly in protesting against any breach of the peace. By the urgent solicitation of the others, the Zurichers were at last prevailed on, to give the decisive answer in their own city, whither the collective deputies now went with them, in order to lay the matter before the Council itself. They were already agreed among themselves in no case to go further than consent to proclaim and execute; in common with Zurich, a decree against the export of provisions, as proposed by Bern, and that only when all other milder measures were exhausted.

With one accord they began to entreat the Council to lay aside all warlike preparations, not wantonly to disturb the internal peace, whilst danger threatened from without, not to carry bloodshed into the rural districts, where so many innocent people were yet living, not to destroy the ripening harvest, the only hope of the poor, of so many widows and orphans; but Zurich vehemently resisted and would not give way in the

least. Once before, said the Councils, against our convictions, in order to please others, we consented to a peace, which has only resulted in our greater injury. Shall we now do it again, and let slip out of our hands the advantage which we at this moment possess? To wait till the Emperor, till Austria comes to their aid, or perchance lends secret support to Medicis—to hope for truth and faithfulness among those, to whom nothing could be more welcome than our total destruction? The proposal also to lay an injunction on the export of provisions found no favor in the beginning. This remedy was thought more hateful than war itself. An honorable war was not contrary to the Word of God; but it would be unchristian to cut off bread from the mouths of the guilty and the innocent—thus completely destroying the old, the sick, pregnant woman, children and those otherwise oppressed by the tyranny of the Five Cantons. Bern endeavored to show the contrary, and the others joined her. Bloody deeds once done could no more be recalled, whilst the enemy at any moment could put an end to the want occasioned by the prohibition, by simply giving satisfaction. At last Zurich submitted, although, as it runs in the record, “reluctantly and sadly, only for the honor and pleasure of the allies.”

But Zwingli was so highly displeased with the resolution, that, according to Bullinger's narrative, he censured it even in the pulpit. “He who is so bold,” said he, “as to call another ‘liar,’ to the face, must let word and blow go together. If he does not smite he will be smitten. Ye men of Zurich, have cut off the supply of provisions from the Five Cantons as evil-doers. Then ought ye now to follow the blow, and not leave the innocent poor to starve. But since you sit still, as though you had not sufficient reason for the punishment, you will oblige them to beat and punish you, and this too will be done.”

Immediately after the passage of the act, on the 21st of May,

Bern issued her declaration to the Five Cantons, in the following words: "Although, at the time of its ratification, it was everywhere published and forbidden by the *Landfriede*, that one party should attack the faith of the other, or do them injury in person, honor or property, or revile or abuse them; although we, on our side, have obeyed, and punished our people in case of transgression, and although your deputies, a short while ago at Baden, gave pledge that the same would be done by you; nevertheless it has never been done. We, our neighbors and our subjects, contrary to all justice, in defiance of the federal compact and sworn treaties, have been reviled as rogues, heretics, villains, in every insulting manner, and accused of scandalous crimes, by you and yours; of which we gave you notice in writing, in March of this year. We have borne it with patience, overlooked it, and urgently exhorted you to punish the evil-doers according to their deserts. It has never been done, and we must believe that you yourselves take pleasure in it. Indeed we would have more than enough of right and authority to proceed against you at once; but, that the innocent, the widows and the orphans may be spared, we have chosen a milder remedy, which we are permitted to use by the *Landfriede* itself, in case you refuse to obey its stipulations. Therefore, from the coming Whitsunday, neither you nor yours shall approach our lands and territories in any manner, or carry away from them anything, by which man must live, until you have punished, according to the weight and magnitude of their words and deeds, according to their desert, in person, honor and property, the insolent, wanton revilers and abusers, whom we have pointed out to you, and whom you will soon discover for yourselves; till you once go earnestly to work, and have put away such unmanly and unchristian doings, so that we and ours may remain secure in the presence of you and yours; for such downright injustice, such words of scandal and shame, we

are no longer able to endure. Take your measures accordingly." On the 27th of May, followed the declaration of Zurich still more ample in its details and more severe.

What Zwingli had correctly, and what the well-meaning advocates of peace still more correctly anticipated, became more and more evident from day to day. The cities of the *Buergerrecht* who had mutually pledged themselves "to persevere together and not lay aside the prohibition, except by the common consent and knowledge of all," could neither retreat nor advance. It did not, as they hoped it would, rouse up every power, hurry along the cautious and irresolute and unite them all together. Instead of this, it gave them time for reflection, time to consider the matter on all sides; censures were heard; the feelings were appealed to, especially pity, which found eloquent advocates in the frontier districts. On the other hand, the exasperation of the Catholics increased from week to week, and overpowered gradually those who were hitherto peacefully inclined, and as want penetrated their abodes, even the secret friends of the Reformation. "It is barbarous. Our forefathers never dealt thus with each other. If individuals have sinned, is it fair that innocent woman and children should suffer for it?" Skillfully was this disposition made use of, by those particularly, who were conscious of their own guilt. They did everything to represent the measure in its most hateful light. "No giving way, till the prohibition is raised," was heard in all parts of the country, resounded from every quarter against the advocates of peace, who still did not relax their efforts, but wrote letters, and traveled from place to place with unwearied zeal. Courage rose with the pressure of want. "We must go and fetch the food, which is so inhumanly denied us." So far from opposing, their Reformed neighbors frequently aided them in these attempts. Provisions were concealed in bales of goods, which were allowed to cross the line, and very often the Bernese

authorities were deceived by their own subjects to the advantage of the needy. And we do not find, that, when discovered, such proofs of brotherly compassion, and perhaps even of a secret leaning toward the old system, were severely punished by them.

On the other hand, the prohibition, once declared, was sternly carried out by Zurich. With the rest, it was only form; with her, reality. By an embassy to Glarus she induced the *Landsgemeine* (commons) of that canton, with a majority, it is true, of only about thirty votes, to adopt it as a principle, and as soon as this was accomplished, she demanded of Wesen and the inhabitants of the Territory of Gaster, subjects of Glarus, but at the same time also of Schwyz, to execute the prohibition against the latter. At this, Bern was highly displeased, and wrote to Zurich: "We beg you to consider how hard it is for a subject to refuse provisions to his lord, and therefore to act moderately and not be too rash, remembering how willingly you would receive it from your own, if they were to deny you saleable commodities; think well over the matter." This remonstrance had little effect upon Zurich, and henceforth the hateful features of a measure, which she had originally opposed with all her power, and only adopted, because no other way of escape stood open, became more and more visible.

At this juncture, envoys from Freiburg, Solothurn and Appenzell, along with the two ambassadors of France, appeared again in Zurich with offers of aid in new negotiations for peace. The Frenchmen declared, that the people of the Five Cantons had asked for their intercession, and although their statement before the Council was ill-received, on account of certain allusions to the passionate behavior of Zurich as not strictly evangelical, still the latter consented to attend another General Diet of the Confederacy, to be held at Bremgarten, because Zurich and Bern refused to appear in Baden, which they blamed for an

offensive partiality toward the Five Cantons. The meeting took place on the 14th of June. It was attended by all the States, by deputies from the city of Chur, from the Three Leagues (the Grisons), from Wallis (*Valais*), from Rothweil, from the *landgraviate* of the Thurgau and the nobility there, and from the district of Sargans, as well as by the French ambassadors, and those of the Duke of Milan, and the Countess of Neuenberg. Gervasius Schuler and Henry Bullinger preached sermons in favor of reconciliation and concord; but how could the negotiations proceed, when the Five Cantons demanded the raising of the prohibition, before a single word should be spoken? To own thus publicly that they were wrong, and had acted hastily, was too much even for Bern, and hence she united with Zurich in requiring, before any promise to raise the prohibition could be made, a declaration on the part of the Five Cantons, that they would abide by the *Landfriede*, so interpreted, that the free preaching of the Gospel would be secure not merely in the Territories, but in districts also immediately under the rule of its adversaries. By this means the breach became yet wider, and the humor in which the deputies of the Five Cantons took their leave, led those of the burgher-cities to look for speedy and dangerous results. Before parting they consulted over the most urgent measures. Zurich affirmed, there were certain indications, that the Five Cantons were arming and would appear on the frontiers under pretext of carrying away grain, but at the same time with the determined purpose of making a formal invasion. It would be prudent to anticipate them; at any rate to appoint leaders and a place of rendezvous for soldiers at once, and to agree upon a plan for a campaign in case of necessity. The deputies, with the exception of those from Basel and St. Gall, said that they had no authority for going so far. If Zurich were attacked, the Bernese thought she should "not be too ardent, and overshoot the mark, but wait

for an advantage and not make assault, until well assured, though obliged to restrain one hamlet, or two or three together, and then she should hasten to inform us and the other Christian co-burghers of it, and then we of Bern will send quickly such a number of people as we think advisable, and with the rest, because we have to keep an eye on the Wallisers, will press against the Luzerners and Unterwaldners, so that the Five Cantons will be compelled to keep themselves apart."

Meanwhile the advocates for peace were unwearied in their efforts. Already a second meeting in Bremgarten was appointed, and the French ambassadors, on the 4th of July, addressed Zurich and Bern once more. "Some days ago," they wrote, "several respectable men from the Five Cantons were with us, not, it is true, in an official capacity. They gave us a lively picture of the distress in their country, and exhorted us to beg you to exercise that charity toward them, which is due from one Christian to another. They assured us, that by a voluntary raising of the prohibition, you would so win upon the heart of the Five Cantons, that any reasonable demand of yours would readily be granted, and the most obstinate even would be obliged to give way. Therefore, mighty lords, we have consented, for the honor of God, for the sake of the King, and in obedience to that precept of the Gospel, which you profess: 'Love not your friends only, but your enemies also', urgently to beseech you: Do away with this misery! Remember, that they are your Christian brethren, your neighbors; that they speak your own language; that you are *one* nation, friends, kinsmen—were united in old times, and must be again in the future. Show love and mercy toward them, as you would wish them to do toward you. Withhold not from them that blessing, which God has bestowed on you. Regard not the words of abuse, nor anything else, by which they have injured you. Thousands among them are innocent of these things; as was

indeed abundantly shown in Bremgarten. Truly you will follow the command of God, you will act as the Gospel teaches; in future generations it will bring you honor. Wise and beloved lords, we write in haste before the Diet meets again. We wish to put an end to the famine as speedily as possible. Fulfil our prayers, and we pledge you our King will remember the favor and repay it gladly, as far as in him lies."

It is not surprising, that upon a portion of the councils at least, some effect should be produced by such appeals, and no less by the reports concerning the disposition of their own people, which reached them from time to time. One of these was communicated to Zurich by the commander of Hitzkirch, Albert von Muelinen. It related to an event, that occurred in a popular assembly at Lenzburg. The government of Bern had called it together, partly to correct false rumors by a special deputation, and partly to explain the reasons of the prohibition and exhort the people to perform their duty in case of need. When now they were formally enjoined so to do, one cried out: "Where is it written in the Gospel that we must deny food to our neighbor?" another: "We will have no war for religions' sake; if they are not willing to believe in God, let them stick to the devil!" Another wished a delegate to be sent to Bremgarten, and others still referred to a declaration of the government made at the opening of the Reformation, that it should begin and end in peace. The resolute behavior of the Bernese deputies was scarcely able to prevent an actual outbreak on the part of the malcontents.

Under such circumstances, the inactivity of some, the perplexity of others, and the ill-humor of a third class, rendered Zwingli's situation more difficult from day to day, as the number of those, who blamed him with all the evil, and pointed him out as an unceasing author of mischief, continued to increase even in Zurich. Fierce was the anger of the Nobles'

Guild, because six of its members, accused of hostility to the Reformation, had been obliged, chiefly through his exertions, to withdraw, part from the Great and part from the Small Council. The majority of the millers and bakers also opposed him, because they attributed the fact, that the authorities had of late become far more strict in their supervision, to his preaching. "For, from the most ancient times," Bullinger, who narrates this, adds, "preachers have had to bear the blame, when obliged to preach against anything done contrary to the Word of God." To the burgher of the town, it was pretended by his enemies, that he was seeking the favor of the country-people, in order by their aid to keep down the cities; to the country-man, who, in the present condition of things, saw his cottage, his undefended property, the life and fortune of his family in continual peril, that he alone stood in the way of peace with the Five Cantons. Intrigue, mistrust, disunion reigned in the Council itself. It became more and more difficult to find suitable persons to execute important missions. Several of the most experienced statesmen endeavored to withdraw. The well-meaning sighed over the inextricable confusion.

Matters had already come to such a pass, that a feeling of his own forsaken condition took hold of the Reformer himself. "Hence he came," as Bullinger informs us, "before the Council and burghers, on the 26th of July, and told how he had now preached the Gospel for eleven years, and warned them with the fidelity of a father, and thoroughly and often and abundantly pointed out, amongst other things, what evil would ensue to them and the Common Confederacy, if the Five Cantons, *i. e.* *the crew of pensioners*, should get the upper hand. All this had no effect upon them. It could easily be seen that there were yet those in the Council, who did not disdain the wages of blood, and were the best friends of the Five Cantons and enemies to the Gospel. Further, the city had managed ill

and could expect little good to come of it. And because she would not follow him and the truth, and he was continually blamed for every disaster that happened, he would now bid them farewell." He said this with tears, according to the testimony of Werner Steiner, one of his friends, and then left the council-house.

The alarm was general; much was said here and there. At last the two burgomasters and several of the most prominent members were commissioned to persuade him to retract his resolution. The meeting took place about noon of the same day. Zwingli asked time for reflection; and on the 29th of July appeared again before the Council to say that he would not abandon the post, in which the city had placed him until death. The effect of this declaration was soon manifest in the reviving spirit of the Council. None of its members were permitted to resign, and on the 6th of August the following ordinance was published: "That for some time past manifold discord, anger and contrariety have arisen in the Councils and among the burghers, so that certain individuals have frequently refused to execute the business and commands imposed upon them, and thereby encouraged others to purpose the same, is well known to us; and we desire that every one, be he of the Small or of the Great Council, when entrusted with an embassy, on horseback or otherwise, will dutifully perform it, unless he make oath that he could not do so, without the sacrifice of his life. If any fail in this duty, he shall be arraigned, and an inquiry held as to the proper punishment."

Zwingli, seeing the chief danger in the vacillation of Bern and her lack of energy, resolved, since, just at that time, another meeting in Bremgarten had been brought about by the advocates of peace, to use all his personal influence with Jacob von Wattenwyl and Peter im Haag, the Bernese deputies there. He entered the city at night-fall, accompanied by Peter Collin

and Werner Steiner. The consultation took place immediately, in the house of Bullinger and in his presence. They all agreed that it was now too late to recall the prohibition, except the Five Cantons would first yield. Such a step of weakness would only render them more overbearing. But to carry it out, and yet remain at peace, was still more doubtful. The oppressed would rise up, and then all the injury, resulting from the invasion, and every kind of reproach, would be heaped upon them. Whether Zwingli gave any further counsel, is not stated in Bullinger's narrative. He simply adds, "the Bernese promised to do their best." At all events, the Reformer departed with a heavy heart. As if conscious that he would never meet again on earth the friend, who went with him as far as the city-gate, he took leave of him with weeping eyes, repeating three times the words: "God keep thee, dear Henry, and be thou faithful to the Lord Christ!"

This scene occurred on the night of St. Laurence's day, and just at that time, according to Bullinger, the famous comet of 1531 first became visible. Zwingli gazed at it from the churchyard of the Great Minster. "What can it portend?" was the question put to him by the abbot George Mueller of Wettingen, in accordance with the belief of the age. "It will cost me, my George, me and many an honorable man his life. The truth and the Church will suffer calamity, but God will not forsake them!" In the pulpit he spake in a similar strain: "Thou wilt not punish pride, O Zurich. Well then! thou wilt be punished thyself; a hedge of thorns will bristle about thy head. The chain is forged, which will twist my neck and that of many a pious Zurichers. Still, God will maintain His Word, and pride will have its fall.

It seems that he was already familiar with the thought of an early death. Indeed, who knows if he did not desire it? What could vindicate him in the face of his accusers and enemies

raging on all sides, like perseverance to the end, like death in defence of his cause, the freedom of that Gospel, from which alone he could hope for a better future, the regeneration of his fatherland, of humanity? He may indeed at this crisis have glanced back over his past life, and examined himself, whether he was as blameless as he was steadfast, whether the good spirit had not forsaken him. A clear conscience could bear witness that he had never sought anything, save the truth and the welfare and honor of his country. Perhaps in solitary moments the question may have come up before him: "Art thou equally content with all the means which thou hast employed?"

This was the serious question. The answer could be more or less satisfactory, just as the Reformer understood the mission of his life. "The years of our life are three score and ten, and by reason of strength they may be four score." As a rule, the half of this period may be devoted to active duties. He, then, who does not shrink from laying before the world the results of honest research and conviction; he who breaks a path and removes obstacles, that stand in the way of others; he who wishes not only to sow but to reap, to behold the rich fruits of his labor, can neither be idle nor reflect too long, in every case, about the choice of means. These are often, in and of themselves, by no means blameless, and yet the only ones by which the end can be speedily attained; for usually adversaries are to be dealt with who are not all scrupulous themselves. They must be beaten by their own weapons. Such in all ages, has been the policy of men, especially those whom history calls great. The Jesuits were neither the first, nor the only politicians who adopted the maxim, that the end sanctifies the means; although they perhaps have given it the most damnable application. If a man is fully bound by his calling to act with promptness and decision, if the present generation, or his fatherland, suffers or gains by his action, then his task is doubly

difficult, and cases may be supposed, where he is not left free to choose between means that are censurable and those that are praiseworthy, but only between those that are less censurable and those that are more so. Such is the unenviable position of the statesman ; and it will thus continue, until public life is so transformed, that fair and pure measures will suffice for its maintenance ; in other words, until the visible revelation of the kingdom of God here below, which Christ proclaimed, which he foresaw, and for which he himself scattered the seed in the earth.

This kingdom of God is that of universal freedom, truth and love. It is built only upon a faith not imposed, upon a personal conviction. Hence, to promote it is a very different mission, one that belongs to the preachers of the Gospel. They should employ none but the purest means, since their aim is altogether pure and holy. Whether its coming will be slow or rapid, is not for us here to consider. They are to seek greatness not by ruling and domineering, but by serving and waiting, like their Divine Exemplar. He who labors in His service, before whom "a thousand years are as one day," full of unshaken trust, leaves it to Him, to fix the time when His harvest shall be ripe. To-day the seed falls among thorns ; to-morrow it drops into a fertile soil, and in the end fruit, sixty and a hundred-fold, will not be wanting. But then a laborer in this kingdom, since it often has to do with the wants and wishes of governments, or the peculiarities of states, will be drawn by necessity to take part in secular affairs, to exert a direct influence upon political life ; yet he durst not swerve from those fundamental principles, which must guide his course ; he cannot sacrifice the higher calling to the lower. That in the bosom of the Reformer, along with the peaceful review of all his labors and sufferings for evangelical liberty, such a consciousness may have awakened, in the last year of his life, some regret in regard to certain

events in his political career, is quite probable from the deep seriousness and melancholy, which we observe in him at this period, as well as from the fervor with which he cast himself into the arms of the Supreme Disposer of all human destinies. He was not at all angry, when reminded of the duty of forbearance and love, whenever he perceived that the exhortation came from a heart that wished him well. To the end of his life he continued on friendly terms with Valentine Tschudi, his successor in Glarus, who, though cherishing all honor toward his former beloved teacher, did not approve of his frequent rough manner of proceeding, and without fear reminded him of the patience and mildness required by the Gospel. At this very time, when Zwingli was powerfully urging the use of compulsory measures against the Five Cantons, Tschudi wrote to him: "There is an old proverb, dearest teacher, 'So many heads, so many minds.' If from this source discord often arises about trifles, need we wonder, should it become yet more violent, where the most important matters are concerned? In a time, when the most learned are at their wits' end, I do not believe, like many others, that we should fan their passions into a general blaze by always accusing our enemies, but that the more care should be taken, lest we slide from the common foundation of our faith—love. Here only can we stand firm; all else is wavering, dependent on accidental circumstances, as all earthly things are. I cannot understand, how, though the old building be so rotten, we can erect a new one, solely on the foundation of the letter, without love, without the communion of saints. How many congregations did there not formerly flourish in Asia, in Africa, in Greece? What became of them, when their leaders quarrelled, when under the mask of science, ambition arose, and like Icarus, would soar with waxen pinions toward the sun? Human science is one thing; wisdom, kindled by the breath of God, another; and that is love. I see this love forsaking

even the most learned, and in its stead appear indifference toward God, contempt of authority, a trampling upon law and judgment, a life of ungovernable passion. Exert your utmost strength, O honored teacher, to prevent it from vanishing altogether. The mere knowledge of the Word cannot protect us, if every one is allowed to interpret it as he pleases, if the spirit of concord, the Holy Spirit does not dwell in them, who use it. The generosity, which breathes through your last letter, and of which in earlier days I received so many proofs, deserves my warmest thanks. It may easily happen, that I will yet be obliged to take refuge with one of my friends; for some are angry at my slow progress, and others at my slight disposition, to apologize for the old order. But I cannot abstain from aiding the weak and comforting distressed consciences. I will rather endure reproach for too much lenity, than render the breach incurable by untimely violence. Little salvation as I expect from ceremonies and external acts, I look for just as little in science also, until the spirit of concord return to our bosoms, and its peaceful culture be made possible. Indeed drag-chains even can become indispensable to the wagon, when it rolls in its rushing course down toward the abyss. God be with us! May his Spirit lead us into a secure haven! Do all that in thee lies, to attain this end."

But what could Zwingli do in the circumstances by which he was surrounded? To hold back the wagon, or to guide it, was no longer in his power. A higher Hand had already seized the reins, to direct it according to a plan, which, though dark and mysterious to the men of that age, succeeding generations, who are able to see all the events in their connection, have learned to admire for its wisdom. We again draw near one of those periods in the lives of nations, when everything must be ventured for the cause of truth and liberty, the rights of conscience preserved by death, past errors atoned for by a

glorious expiation, and the censure of posterity disarmed by the magnitude of the sacrifice.

The Reformer continued firm as a rock. About the end of August he wrote to Conrad Som of Ulm, after giving some notice of the appearance of the comet: "I stand unshaken, prepared for everything, seeking my help in God." He heard without alarm, how people in one place were terrified by monstrous births, and how in another reports were afloat concerning portentous signs, a shield and banner seen in the sky; ships manned by spirit-warriors crossing Lake Luzern; and the shooting of guns by night, that wakened from slumber the neighbors on the Reuss. Ulric Meier, *vogt* of Schenkenberg, wrote to him a long letter, telling how the inhabitants of an entire parish, he himself, the preachers and a proprietor of that district, had seen blood ooze from the earth, after a stormy night, more dreadful than any he had ever before witnessed; he gave him this accurate information, so that he might not believe, if others should tell him yet worse things; and had written moreover to the government of Bern. Whether God had spoken, or whether it was delusion or magic, may perhaps be discovered hereafter. But why should stories like these, which undoubtedly produced a fearful commotion in the trembling multitude, daunt him, who was fixed in his faith, his action, his purpose—reconciled even to the assurance of an early death? One thing alone could cause him pain—the thought of leaving behind his wife and children, a growing family, destined perchance to feel the consequences of every change of fortune. He desired for them an easier life, than he had led; that they might not sink before their time beneath a load of trouble and toil. "Spare your young folks," he wrote to Berchtold Haller and Megander of Bern; "they, who are now fairer than milk, redder than roses, should not stalk along pale, withered, bloodless, with corpse-like faces, slain in their bloom by the unnatural severity of ex-

cessive toil? My shoulders are not granted to you all. I trust in God, such times will not last forever. Spare yourselves also. The future needs you; for what will remain, if all the good die?"

In such a mood he beheld the last effort of Zurich. It was the 9th of September, 1531. From all quarters came in reports of warlike preparations and movements in the Five Cantons. Schwyz and Uri at last consented to join the others in an attempt to carry off the food denied them, by force of arms; the Catholic *landvogt* in the free bailiwicks had already seized on a wagon of salt at Bremgarten. A troop of auxiliaries, obtained by Luzern through the mediation of the Nuncio and paid by the Pope, was known to be on the march from Italy. In a long manifesto, addressed to the Confederates, and especially her own subjects in city and country, the government enumerated her just grievances against the Five Cantons, replied, as far as she was able, to their complaints against Zurich, offered once more to accept the *Landfriede*, in the sense in which she understood and could only interpret it, and to raise the prohibition, as soon as the insolent calumniators were punished, absolved herself, if this were not done, from all the consequences, and concluded with these words: "We live in the firm and assured hope, that you, our dear subjects, will be equally concerned with us about the above-named scandal, abuse, contempt and despising of our faith and of the Divine Word, and other injuries done us, contrary to the federal compact and the *Landfriede*, and that you will honestly and fairly fulfill, as a loyal people, the offers and promises you have made us; moreover, do not doubt that we, your lords and rulers, will act toward you in all honor, friendship, fidelity, love and kindness, and not forsake you in the hour of need; because we are not seeking our own advantage, but the honor of God, and after that, of the Common Confederacy, of our city and canton, and

then the honor, fame, profit and welfare of you all." Rudolf Lavater, *landvogt* of Kyburg, was appointed commander-in-chief, called into the city and full authority given to him, the banneret Schweizer and Tœnig, captain of the artillery, to admit, if they saw fit, others into their council, to call out the soldiery, and to march to battle, as soon as they found it necessary; in short, to do everything needful "to protect and save the interests and honor of the canton." A commission to this effect was handed over to Lavater. But with that effort all power seemed to be exhausted. As if with the commission all responsibility had been shifted from their shoulders to those of others, neither firmness, promptitude, nor unanimity were to be found in the Councils. Indeed there existed traces of actual treason. Scarcely did an order go forth from one side to the rural districts, before it was followed by a countermand from the other. Troops, who were summoned, received on the way notice to return home. Unwilling to see himself frustrated at every point, Lavater retired, for a while, to Kyburg. The inhabitants of the frontiers toward Zug and Luzern, were partly intimidated and partly incensed by a flood of disparaging reports, which were sent thither. Petitions from Bern, not to be too rash, not to make the first attack, were continually arriving. These were supported by a majority of the members of both Councils, who, paralyzed by fear, by a criminal regard to their own private interests, or buoyed up by a haughty self-confidence, affected to consider the step taken by the adverse party as a mere show, or as greatly exaggerated by public rumor. A hearing was granted to the ever-busy advocates of peace, whose numbers were now swelled by a delegation from Strassburg; and through their entreaties and promises, every decisive measure was postponed. Meanwhile, the courage of the Five Cantons so increased, in view of the helplessness of their opponents, that early in October, their deputies assembled

in Brunnen, in order to take final action. Here the treaties were first read, and then all were questioned, upon oath, by the bailiff Richmuth of Schwyz, whether they had been so violated by Zurich and Bern, that war could be lawfully declared against them. It was decided unanimously in the affirmative, and on the 9th of October, after a long explanation of all the motives that prompted them to this course, the campaign was begun.

On the same day, 600 Luzerners and 50 volunteers from each of the other cantons reached Hochdorf, and from thence, strengthened by 400 men from the upper free bailiwicks, advanced to Hitzkirch. From the latter place, the commander Von Muelinen fell back upon Bremgarten, and sent call after call to Zurich for aid. On the 10th, the chief force of the Five Cantons, each division under its own *landamman* and *schultheiss*, advanced to Zug, where they waited for the approach of the Zurichers. They brought with them a challenge against Zurich, to the following effect:

“We, the captains, bannerets and commons-at-war of the Five old Christian Cantons make known to the Councils and commons of Zurich, by this our letter: For a long time now, as regards our fair and honorable rights and desires, contrary to sworn treaties and the *Landfriede* concluded between us, contrary to Christian discipline and unity, contrary to Confederate loyalty, love and friendship, and contrary to all natural law and equity, have we been violently deprived and dispossessed of our just rights in the government of St. Gall and the bailiwick in the Rheinthal, not by you and your adherents only, but by our own people also, whom in defiance of God, honor and law, you have seduced from their allegiance. Not satisfied with the attempt to create disunion amongst us by cunning and intrigue, to drive us from our old, true Christian faith, you pretend that we are not willing to hear the Word of God, nor to suffer the Old and New Testaments to be read, and therefore call us un-

godly, malicious sellers-of-flesh and perfidious reprobates; and because we do not attach ourselves to your newly invented religion, you refuse to sell us provisions, and undertake to crush us by hunger, and not us alone, but to destroy the very child in its mother's womb. You grudge us this, though God gives it, and it has not grown up as yours, nor upon your soil; for what good, honest people would gladly send us, you will not suffer to pass through your territories, which is an open and wanton violation of the federal compact and the *Landfriede*. And though we have made every reasonable offer for the sake of peace, quiet, and the perpetuation of our common Confederacy, and for this end appealed for aid to the other cantons, yet neither have you acknowledged our rights, nor has any one shown a disposition to help us, and for a long time now we have been obliged to suffer and endure this oppression and injustice; and since there appears to be no end to overbearing and violence, and we can look for neither right nor fairness, we are driven to complain to God's worthy Mother, to all the heavenly host, and to all good men, who love justice and equity. If we and ours were to suffer such scandal, shame, contempt, blasphemy and arrogance any longer, we would stand recreant before God and the world. Wherefore, for the honor of religion and truth and the glory of God's Holy Name, we are forced, by the aid of Heaven, to put down such crime and tyranny, compelled to take vengeance; and so much and so far as God gives us power, grace and strength, will we chastise you by the edge of the sword and no longer abide such haughty oppression and constraint; and we hereby boldly proclaim, that, against you and your abettors, we will uphold our own honor and that of our allies."

This decided movement on the part of the Five Cantons produced the greatest confusion in Zurich. The commander elect, the head of the board of war, was absent; the Councils

were wavering and split into factions, the majority of the people without confidence or sympathy; and Zwingli, although calm, to the last moment true to the call of duty, full of unshaken faith in the justice of his cause, and certain that a better future would dawn upon his fatherland, had yet no hope for the present; none for a speedy victory; none for himself. Four days before his death, he said in the pulpit: "Our only true possession is the friendship of God, from whom, neither death nor any earthly power can sunder us;" and then again: "They achieve the most glorious victory, who are actors and not spectators merely. Hence, courage amid the perplexities and dangers through which the holy cause of the Gospel must be upheld! May others enjoy the fruit of our labors! We will find rest in Heaven."

In such a frame of mind, he was not surprised by the reports of his friend Bullinger, abbot of Cappel, whom Lavater had sent to the Five Cantons as a trusty spy. These were of the same tenor and spoke of the fixed determination of the enemy, the first step already taken, and the distress and prayers for help on the frontiers. At his request, or by order, of the government, Lavater returned to Zurich on the 9th of October; but just as the character of the news varied, an immediate dispatch of troops was talked of in the Council, or its order already communicated, recalled. Nothing was done that day, but to send several members to Bremgarten and Cappel, to reconnoiter. A restless night was passed; new warnings had arrived. On the morning of the 10th, the pastor of Rifferschweil and the landlord of the Albis made their appearance; the one an eyewitness of the flight of the people before the invading Catholics, the other, a messenger from the deputies of the government, with pressing entreaties to hasten the departure of the army. The Small and Great Councils were called together, but the meeting was by no means full. Perplexity, hesitation, and even

secret joy at the confused state of affairs kept a portion of the members at home. Lavater had also summoned to the senate-house Zwingli, the banneret Schweizer, William Tœnig and Hans Dæniker, to whom the conduct of the baggage train was committed. They all agreed, that the alarm should be sounded immediately, and first in the more remote districts, so that their inhabitants might assemble under the banner simultaneously with those who dwelt nearer. They notified the councillors of their resolution, but again found opposition among them. In vain did Lavater appeal to his commission. The dispatch of some 100 men, under George Gœldli, was only effected about noon, and that with the injunction, to venture on nothing decisive, but to secure a good position. The artillery, which ought to have gone with them, was not fully underweigh until evening. At last, as night set in, about seven o'clock, permission was given to sound the alarm, which was now done very irregularly throughout the canton, varying in proportion as they, who were appointed to the service, were well-disposed, or had, perchance, here and there, received secret counter-orders. About midnight Peter Fuessli reached the summit of the Albis with the artillery, for the draught of which he had found it difficult to procure teams. According to his narration, the alarm was sounded in several "*kilchhærenen*" (parishes); commotion reigned in nature. Tschudi tells us of an earthquake on that night, "which mightily shook the canton, even mountain and valley." On the morning of the 12th, about six o'clock, the banner was hung out of the senate-house. But the commander-in-chief had to wait some time before any soldiers collected around it. There was nothing like regular division into companies or mustering beforehand. Whoever had courage to come as a volunteer, placed himself in the ranks. They were scarce 700 men, all told, councillors, clergy, and gray-haired fathers in part, along with fiery youths; and so

they hurried off, for word was brought, that Goeldli had already engaged the enemy on the other side of the mountain.

Zwingli also, responding to the summons of the Council, of his own accord joined the departing troops. He had taken leave of his wife and children and of his friends in such a way, that, as Bullinger remarks, "they perceived he expected never to return home again." Even his horse seemed to have a foreboding of evil. He shied, as Werner Steiner relates, and as many saw with terror, backwards. Too sagacious not to observe that he must encounter contradictory measures, the lukewarmness of allies, and secret treachery, which he more than once predicted; too manly to retire now in the hour of need; too full of confidence in God, not to believe that He would protect His own Gospel, though it should for the moment call for its martyrs, he acknowledged the duty of abiding by his Zurichers, whose temporal and eternal welfare he desired from the bottom of his heart, in the defence of their native soil, even unto death; of proving by his own blood, that it was no mere selfish ambition or love of revolution, which had prompted him to speak and act, as in their blindness, his raging enemies had asserted. Not in sullen stupefaction, not in a fit of frenzy or of recklessness did he march forth, but with the earnestness of a man, who knows what may happen, and, not girding himself with his own hands, relies on the arm of Him, who is best acquainted with the human heart, and pardons the multitude of our errors, if only redeemed by faith, love, and a spirit of self-sacrifice. A Winterthurer, Hans Maaler, who rode one rank behind him, narrates that he heard him pray for himself and especially for the church of Christ with great fervency.

On the summit of the mountain the wearied soldiers were obliged to rest for a while. From the valley below, the thunder of cannon was distinctly heard in the neighborhood of Cappel. But how few in numbers, how motley was the host that here

assembled once more around the banner! A part, consisting of the heavy-armed and the aged, were still climbing upward, and the artillery, again delayed for want of horses, lingered far behind. There was little to encourage a prudent general to venture rashly, with such fragments of an army, from ground, which he could hold even with these, down into the open field; at least, whilst he could count with certainty on a considerable increase in the course of a few hours, and could employ the interval in the most needful instruction and arrangement of his troops. There was reason also to hope, from the tenor of the commands, which he had received, that Gœldli, as soon as he could no longer defend himself at a distance with his cannon, would rather fall back upon the mountain. It was, therefore, military experience, and not cowardice, which led William Tœnig to advise a halt, till the arrival of those in the rear. But Zwingli, whose thoughts dwelt only upon his last duty, and the distress of his neighbors, attacked by an invading force and anxiously waiting for help, immediately replied: "I will go down to the good people in God's name; to die with them, or to aid in their deliverance." Lavater, already perhaps despairing of success, but resolved to maintain his reputation for personal courage, likewise spoke in favor of haste, whilst the gray-haired banneret, Tœnig, withdrew his proposal to halt. "I am as stout as you," said he, "and you will find it so." The event soon proved his saying true.

It was three o'clock in the afternoon, when the banner reached Cappel. Only a few of the most active entered the battle-field with it. The rest of the soldiers followed in great disorder. For some time, Gœldli and his men, strengthened by the inhabitants of the surrounding country, had sustained, with trifling loss, the fire of the enemy's artillery, and answered it with their own. Just as Lavater, Zwingli and the other leaders came up, a pause ensued, in consequence of a council

of war in the hostile camp, which resulted in a change of position. The Zurichers also met to deliberate. The challenge of the Five Cantons was produced by Gœldli and handed over to Zwingli. It was now evening. A renewal of the battle was no longer anticipated. Peter Fuessli proposed that the cannon on hand should be removed to a hill, lying somewhat in the rear, and a secure position taken behind it. The others, though differing in opinion, went along with him to look at the spot; but just at this most unfavorable moment, when deprived of their best leaders, the Zurichers saw themselves threatened by the enemy, who were close upon them. For whilst the Catholic captains were discussing their affairs to little purpose, and their main forces lay in the back-ground, the *vogt* Jouch of Uri had slipped unperceived with a number of marksmen into a little grove, which commanded the flank of the Zurichan army. Volunteers from the Five Cantons, Unterwalden especially, advanced in front. Against these, all of the Zurichers, who were most eager for the fray rushed, without waiting for orders, and never dreaming of an ambuscade. Then an irregular conflict arose. Lavater, Zwingli and the greater part of their companions returned to take their place in the ranks, as soon as they heard of it. At this very moment, the rest of the Catholics pressed forward, and all at once Jouch and his marksmen opened fire. The peril of the Zurichers was manifest. "How is it, Master Ulric," said Leonhard Burkhard, a member of the baker's guild, who were not friendly to the Reformer, "are the turnips salted? Who shall eat them?" "I," said he, "and many an honest man here with me, in God's hand, whose we are living and dead." "And I along with you, though it cost me my life," added the former. He too fell a victim. Lavater, seizing a lance, marched to the thickest of the fight. "Remember" cried he, "the honor of God and Zurich; quit yourselves like men." The banneret

Schweizer did the same, and Zwingli, requested by Bernhart Spruenglein to encourage the soldiers, spoke with a loud voice : "Fear not; if we suffer, it is for God's sake. Call on Him. He will strengthen us and ours." In fact he inspired in the bosoms of the noblest among them courage to remain true to their convictions unto death, and leave behind for future generations an example of duty fulfilled and honor saved.* After a short and furious struggle, the half of the Zurichers present lay stretched upon the field of battle; the fourth part of whom either expired immediately, or afterward died of their wounds. Zwingli whilst in the act of speaking to a soldier falling at his side, was struck with such violence by a stone (as appeared from the deep ding in his helmet, which was brought to Luzern as a trophy of war) that he also sunk down. In this prostrate condition he was stabbed a number of times in his legs. "The body they can kill; the soul not." These are said to have been his last words. Around him lay eighteen others of the most distinguished of the clergy—among them, Diebold von Geroldseck, who had formerly called him to Einsiedeln, Wolfgang Joner, abbot at Cappel, and the commander Conrad Schmeid in the midst of 39 men of Kuessnacht. Seven members of the Small and nineteen of the Great Council had fallen. Besides these, there were sixty-five burghers of the capital, eleven of Winterthur, and 410 men of the canton. The banner, defended by Schweizer till he fell, was saved by

* The author did not think it necessary to give here all the particulars of the battle. A fuller description of it may be found in his larger work : "*Geschichte der Eidgenossen während der Zeiten der Kirchentrennung*." II. 373, ff. Gelzer has a still more circumstantial account in a special work, "*Die Schlacht bei Cappel*." Zurich. Schultheiss. 1831. But the most accurate, including the minutest details, even to the names of all who were killed, and everything that could be collected from contemporaneous reports, is contained in Bullinger's *Chronicles*, which were published a few years ago.

the heroic exertions of Hans Kambli, Adam Ræf and Ulric Denzler. By nightfall the Catholics had achieved a decided victory. They refrained from pursuit, and, collecting on the meadows near the houses, knelt down to offer up a prayer of thanksgiving. Many of them then sallied forth, torch in hand, to visit the scene of carnage, but with different ends in view; some to secure the clothing and the weapons of the slain; others, inspired by revenge or fanaticism, to deal a finishing stroke on those of the wounded, against whom they bore a grudge; but many also, prompted by the nobler motive of comforting and bringing help where it was yet possible. Salat of Luzern thus gloried in his fanaticism: "Some, when asked, as they lay struggling in the agonies of death, whether they wished to confess and receive the holy sacraments, answered, Yes! and were thus preserved, according to Christian usage, and died as good Christians. Others, when so asked, made the sign of No! These were then left to die like *infidel dogs*, or finished, perchance, by a stab or blow, *so that they might the sooner be led off to the Devil, as they were fighting on all fours.*" Bullinger praises the humanity of the enemy in the following words; "On the contrary, there were not a few among the Five Cantons, who deeply deploring this sad business as a great misfortune, treated the captive Zurichers in a friendly manner, caused their wounds to be bound up, and placed them beside their camp-fires; for the night was cold, and a heavy frost lay upon the ground. They regretted that the prohibition of the export of provisions (without which the common people could not have been induced to take up arms) had been laid, and that such great injury had resulted from it, and honest Confederates set in hostile array against each other. A party of those who were searching through the field of battle, came upon Zwingli. He lay with his face to the earth. They turned him around and asked him, like the others, to confess. He repeatedly shook his

head, by way of denial. "Die then, stiff-necked heretic!" cried Captain Vokinger of Unterwalden, and gave him his death-blow. The news that his body was found, soon spread among the Catholics. Numbers went out to look at it—among them, Bartholomew Stocker of Zug, who had known and esteemed the Reformer in his lifetime. He often afterward said, that "in the form and color of his face he did not appear to be dead, but alive, and, to his great surprise, looked just as he did when he preached. Hans Schœnbrunner, formerly, the head of the convent at Cappel, could not refrain from tears. "Whatever thy faith was," said he, "I know that thou wert an honest Confederate. God be merciful to thy soul!" But rage prevailed among the majority, who demanded that the body should be divided into five pieces, and one sent to each of the Five Cantons; others wished it to be burnt. *Schultheiss* Golder and the *ammann* Thoss exhorted them to leave the dead rest, and judgment to God. They were overpowered by loud cries, and withdrew. At the tap of the drum an inquisition was proclaimed, sentence passed and the corpse quartered by the executioner of Luzern, burned, and its ashes mixed with those of a dead hog. What a religion, that could fancy such frenzy would be pleasing to God!

Terrible beyond description was the effect produced by the fearful reports, which now reached Zurich, blow after blow. Some, like Anna Reinhart, who received in succession the sad tidings of the death of a husband, a son, a son-in law, a brother, and a brother-in-law, submitted with Christian resignation.—Others acknowledged in the calamity a judgment upon their own sins, on account of the too little respect paid to the rights of their Confederates, the violation of treaties and the forcible introduction of reforms, which can only rest upon a sure basis, when the result of conscientious persuasion. These views were uttered in louder or softer tones. The most vulgar, cowardly

and passionate gave vent to their secret hatred against certain individuals. But then also, not a few were found, who, instead of giving way to despondency, encouraged their neighbors, called for redoubled exertions and cast themselves into the breach. The government was roused. Directly after the receipt of the first news, then about midnight, and again in the morning, Bern was written to for speedy aid and the collective cities of the Christian *Buergerrecht* for an auxiliary force. As Lavater did not appear for a time, other leaders were sent to the heights of the Albis, in order to collect the fugitives and place them in the ranks of the new troops, who were coming up. It would have been yet possible to recover everything and wipe out the disgrace of defeat, by resolution and concord. Of the former there was enough; of the latter not. Indeed, the army of Bern, which approached, was strong in numbers. It had set out on the same day in which the battle of Cappel was fought, but under a leader, the *schultheiss* Diessbach, who, swayed by his personal dislike to the Reformation, wavered in his purpose and did not push forward with zeal and activity.

The Zurichers, with ranks swollen by the arrival of several thousand solders, were encouraged by Lavater, again in their midst, and the governor-general Frei, next him in command, to descend from the Albis and hazard another battle. They earnestly begged the Bernese to march up rapidly through the free bailiwicks and lend them support. The Five Cantons, threatened thus in front and rear, would be compelled either to fight, or to retreat. Diessbach refused. Even when Zurich, at his request, withdrew her troops from the Albis, forsook her own canton and joined the Bernese at Bremgarten, he still hesitated. The united forces, now exceeding in number those of the Catholics, occupied five days in advancing the distance of a few miles, where they again encamped. Frei could no longer endure such treasonable inaction. On his own respon-

sibility, aided by the men of Basel, Schaffhausen, and St. Gall, he pressed on by night to the Gubel. The Bernese slept without concern. But the Gospel of Christ is not to be upheld by swords and lances. A second time Zurich was beaten, and her brave captain fell among the slain.

And yet the Catholics did not gain all they desired. Their faith, as well as their former just position in the Confederacy, were now secured, and the unnatural prohibition against the export of provisions done away; but the Reformation still survived, and their victories did not give them power sufficient to crush again the liberty of the Gospel, where it had taken root, or to limit Zurich in her territorial rights. This, however, they attempted to do, and directly after the defeat at Cappel invited all the parishes on the further side of the Albis, together with the entire population on the left shore of the lake, to abandon Zurich, swear allegiance to them and give hostages for their fidelity in the future; in return for which, they promised to guarantee their original liberties and "receive and treat them, as faithful, loving subjects should be by a mild and paternal government." In case of refusal, they were to be dealt with in "a hostile and warlike manner," without mercy. The offer was unanimously rejected, and information sent to the Council of Zurich, which was repeatedly assured, that they were resolved to abide by the Gospel till death. The latter government also remained unshaken, even by the new disaster at the Gubel; indeed, now for the first time, exhibited a degree of courage and activity, that was not looked for. And although the Duke of Wuertemburg had been informed that "the trade of our city is nearly ruined," orders were sent, only four days after the defeat at Cappel, to the Zurichan allies, who were still engaged in the siege of the castle Musso, on the borders of Graubuenden: "Persevere, do not break up, nor let our affairs trouble you, but prosecute the war boldly and earnestly, and

give the enemy no rest till he surrenders." This reply was also made, when the Council of Bern, in contrast with the sluggish leaders of her army, referred the mediators, sent from Solothurn, Appenzell and Neunburg, to Zurich with the declaration that without her consent there could be no talk of peace: "It shall never be forgotten, but told to our children and children's children." Her town-clerk was authorized, the very day after the battle on the Gubel, to inform the soldiers on the Italian frontiers: "We are ready to pledge hide and fur and all that God has given us, not to abandon the field, till the religious rights of the bailiwicks are secured." Word was sent to the camp at Baar: "We wish to know what happened at the defeat on the mountain, who was to blame and who was innocent. You should remember every day the disgrace of our city of Zurich and seek means to recover our lost honor." Continually and repeatedly were the Bernese captains and the government exhorted to prosecute the war with greater vigor; and when the latter, in order to justify her irresolution, referred to the armed preparations on the Rhine and on her western borders, against which she was obliged to guard, when she communicated the fact that the Archduke Ferdinand had, immediately after receiving the news of the disaster at Cappel, sat more than half a day in council and, leaving the Imperial Diet, ridden off to Inspruck, the indignant reply was made. "We can get nothing more out of it than this, that all our friends are on the other side of the Rhine, and your reports and ours in no wise agree; and since these things are not half so dreadful as represented to you, we beg you not to be frightened at such bug-bears, but come manfully to our aid." The *Landgrave* of Hesse, who had offered money and a thousand men, and the Duke of Wuerttemberg, who had placed at their disposal all his heavy guns at Hohentwiel, were warmly thanked; but as there was less lack of men than of concord in

the camp, it was resolved to decline this foreign assistance, which could scarcely have been used.

In the camp itself undoubtedly lay the chief causes of the crippled condition of affairs, the confusion and the unfortunate results. Not only did a continual strife prevail between the Bernese and Zurichan commanders, but the latter stood isolated among his own people. He himself felt that he had lost the confidence of his troops, and although he could point to undeniable proofs of his bravery in Italy, and of his undaunted spirit and presence of mind in the popular rebellion at Teess, and although he was among the last to leave the battle-field of Cappel, and that only when all resistance had become impossible, yet an inner voice perhaps whispered to him, that among the glorious band, who had there laid down their lives, the name of the chief commander should not have been wanting. Intimidated and perplexed, he attempted no decisive measures. "Of Lavater many said," so Bullinger tells us, "that he was frightened, and durst no longer talk among and with the people. The constrained position of the general had its effect upon the army. Several of the cowardly and faithless began to desert, rain set in, and provisions grew scarce. In spite of every entreaty, to protect at least the Zurichan frontier, the army of Bern retreated to Bremgarten." "Why do you hesitate to follow?" said the ensign Hugi of Solothurn. "You shut your eyes on your own necessities, as your fathers before you in the old Zurich war. As they, so you are at variance; as they, so you have lost the hearts of your Confederate brethren; you have no power to make further resistance, and yet you will not give way."

And in fact the government did not consider it just then consistent with honor and duty. It was resolved not to entertain the proposals for peace made by the mediators; because one of the conditions of the Catholics was, that in the Territories

it should be decided by a new vote whether they would return to the old or continue in the new faith. Bern also assented to this course. But now an army of 4,000 men from the Five Cantons, among whom were the lawless foreign mercenaries of Ab Isola, rushed upon the cottages and hamlets of the unprotected territory of Zurich, overran the left shore of the lake, and ravaged as far down as Thalweil. Terror seized the canton. Many fled to the city; all the roads were filled with weeping women and children, mingled with lowing herds, and the alarm-bells resounded on every side. The councils were called together and the troops still lying at Bremgarten summoned by their honor and oath to hasten up without delay. They obeyed, but in vain were the Bernese, first by the treasurer Eddlebach and then by the burgomaster Roist and two associate councilmen, conjured by everything which they held sacred, this once to come to the rescue of their old confederate-sister, only to enter the city for its immediate protection, whilst the Zurichers would fight without the walls. The cold answer was, that they would think over the matter, and write to the troops at Zofingen and the government at Bern. Not all of Diessbach's army shared this feeling with him. Jacob Mai thrust his sword at the bear in the banner, as though he would rouse him up to action. The field-chaplain Kolb spake thus to the assembled soldiery: "Your forefathers in a like case would have swum through the Rhine to attack the enemy; at the slightest call they marched to battle; the Gospel itself does not move you." These words were uttered with impunity; but yet they produced no effect. The men of Solothurn, Basel, Schaffhausen, Biel and Muehlhausen also joined the Bernese. Captain Friedbolt of St. Gall alone declared, that by order of his superiors, he would place life and property at the disposal of Zurich, and a small troop from Bischoffzell followed him. The majority of the Thurgovians and Toggenburgers, who were

still encamped with the Zurichers, returned to their homes.

Meanwhile, the Catholics retired again before the Zurichers, marching up the left shore, with a reinforcement of 1,000 Graubuendners, ferried over from the right shore of the lake. The army under Hans Escher, who had succeeded Lavater in the chief command, encamped above Horgen on the heights of the Zimmerberg. Zurich now stood unsupported, except by her confederates of Graubuenden and a few from St. Gall. The rural districts were sighing for peace, and the Five Cantons began also to desire it. The absence of all the able-bodied men increased the distress at home, which was already great enough by reason of the famine; the inclemency of an early winter gave few charms to a life in the field, and the hamlets on the frontier, crowded with soldiers, began to feel the pinchings of want. Under these circumstances a letter was addressed by the Five Cantons to the "Parishes general and special, who are subject to Zurich," requesting them to conclude a special peace with the Catholics, in case the capital would refuse to do so. This produced a great excitement. Deputies from various parts of the canton appeared before the government, with the earnest prayer, that some means might be devised to prevent further invasion and relieve them from the burdens of the war, which had now become almost intolerable. After a long and violent struggle, the peace-party triumphed in the Council. Negotiations were opened; but the decision on the side of the Zurichers, according to ancient custom, was transferred to the commons-at-war, to whom the Council sent several of its most influential members as deputies.

Whilst the latter were assembling, the leaders of the Catholics deliberated over the conditions to be proposed. Their views were conflicting. Several of the most violent asserted that now the time had come to compel the city and canton of Zurich to return to the old faith, and that the restoration of the

mass should be made an indispensable condition of peace.—Zurich, the *schultheiss* Golder declared, would never consent to this. He was supported in his opinion by the *landammen* Froger and Toss. And they even succeeded in securing for the inhabitants of the Territories, with the exception of the free bailiwicks and the burghers of Rapperschweil and Wesen, the privilege of retaining the Reformation, provided all those, who henceforth might wish to return to the mass, should be permitted to do so. One solitary voice objected to this liberality. Ægidius Tschudi deplored the result. "The counsel was pernicious," said he, "and a great injury to the true Catholic faith, to which God had given the victory. Accordingly, neither the *schultheiss*, nor they who followed him, namely, *amman* Froger of Uri and *amman* Toss of Zug, and several others, lived many years afterward."

Meanwhile the consultation was opened in the Zurichan camp by Escher, with the exhortation neither to be too fearful, nor yet too passionate. He said that the position of Zurich was critical, but not at all desperate; and that God would undoubtedly defend his Gospel, in which we should persevere to the last extremity. So to do was the unanimous resolution. But then opinions varied as to what should be done in regard to the Territories. Several persons, and among whom Sergeant George Mueller was prominent, made strong appeals to the sacred duty, which bound them to act for the people of the Territories, who had been summoned to a common resistance and assured of protection and help, as they would for their own. Others, on the contrary, endeavored to uphold the right of the Five Cantons to name conditions of peace in this case. But the following speech of an aged *amman*, Suter of the Horgerberg, had the greatest influence in bringing matters to a conclusion.

"Our general has spoken for a long time, and exhorted us not to be in a hurry to make peace. This perhaps might suit

our Lords in the city. They have less to lose than we. Their support and revenues are sure, but our houses and hamlets are exposed to destruction. We have now been beaten twice by the enemy, and suffered a great defeat. It is easily seen that luck is against us. And there is no use to comfort ourselves because we have an abundance of supplies and provisions and our enemies none. For the greater their need, the greater will be their desire to injure us. Necessity drives them. It has already stirred up fury and revenge amongst them, and wrought great mischief, not only that we have violated the federal compact and the *Landfriede* toward them, but also that we have denied them the right to take away provisions; hence God is now angry at us and fights himself against us. We cannot rely on the aid of the Bernese. What good has all their force done us? We have not yet been able to prevail on them, in spite of every prayer and entreaty, to defend the city of our Lords, whilst we of the Horger are willing to incur the risk of danger, notwithstanding, they can lie there in security, since our Lords have commanded us to encamp against the main body of the enemy. The Bernese marched up very slowly to the battle-field of Cappel, and helped us very little, and they would not consent to send their troops to the Zugerberg. Remember the old saying, handed down from our forefathers: "the men of Zurich will suffer loss rather than dishonor; the men of Bern dishonor rather than loss." When we of Zurich undertake anything, we stake our all upon it, and look for success or failure; but the Bernese are just the reverse, sharing the victory with us in every enterprise, without putting their own skins in danger.* Some one has said, 'A loss should bring a man to his senses.' Since then we have experienced loss upon loss, we certainly ought to stop and think."

* On the contrary, in the civil wars between the two religious parties during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Bernese "put

After this the negotiations were prosecuted vigorously on all sides. The commander-in-chief, with a numerous guard, went over to the leaders of the Five Cantons; a second meeting was held the next day and a treaty of peace concluded, of which the following are the chief articles: The Reformation shall be guaranteed in Zurich and all her immediate dependencies, as well as in those parts of the Territories, where it has already been received; yet all those, who may wish to return to the mass, or to prove by a new vote, which is the prevailing party, shall be at liberty to do so. Church property was to be divided according to the census. Zurich pledged herself to abstain from any further intervention, where she had no claim to rule. The Christian *Buergerrecht* and the first *Landfriede* were abrogated. The few remaining articles were devoted to damages, or the restitution of property, which had been seized. During the formation of the treaty the name of "Confederates" was once more heard. And now, after its conclusion, the deputies dismounted from their horses and knelt down in prayer. Then Captain Escher stepped up to the *schultheiss* Golder and the bailiffs of the Five Cantons, and offered his hand to each of them. Tears stood in every eye. They gave each other their canteens to drink from, took a friendly leave and returned to their respective camps.

But then a hard destiny, fines, punishments, the oppression of soldiers, quartered upon them, and a partial loss of their rights, were looked for by the inhabitants of Rapperschweil, the people in Gaster and the free bailiwicks, and especially the cities of Bremgarten and Mellingen. Zurich had attempted to do what she could, at least for the latter, and invited them, through Rudolph Stoll, to send deputies to her negotiation with the Five Cantons. They refused to do it, relying on the proverbial saying, "their skins in danger," whilst the Zurichers did not; though with just as little success, at least in the first.

tection promised by the Bernese, a part of whose forces were yet lying in their neighborhood. But these retired, as soon as the Catholics turned against them with serious purpose, and prepared for action, after the conclusion of the peace with Zurich. Urgently and sadly did the two cities beg the Bernese not to leave them helpless—to make some proposals at least in their behalf. The *schultheiss* Mutschli rode to Aarau after the commander Diessbach. He could remember, he there said to him, that it was only with reluctance, and after repeated orders from Zurich and Bern, that Bremgarten had prohibited the sale of provisions to the Five Cantons—that the vengeance of the enemy was sure, and their destruction very probable. Thus also spoke the people of Mellingen, as well as those of the free bailiwicks. “We do not treat you in this manner willingly,” answered Diessbach, “but under the pressure of necessity. Act according to circumstances; Bern must take care of her own rights.” Then Mutschli turned away with the words: “Jeremiah, the prophet, has spoken: ‘Cursed be he who trusts in an arm of flesh!’ This has been fulfilled to us this day. You cast us off in our misery. How can we then ever respect your claims? God in Heaven judge between us!” Once more they came to Zurich with prayers for succor, and immediately five deputies were dispatched to the Catholics at Muri, to intercede in their behalf. “You shall ride night and day,” so they were instructed, “and not give over till the oppression of the people is removed, and you have obtained peace for them.” But the Five Cantons remained inexorable, and the best that Zurich could do for her forsaken allies was to open her own gates for the reception of the most needy. Richly did *one* of these fugitives repay her for that act of kindness. In Henry Bullinger, the canton found the most worthy successor of her reformer. His talent, his mildness of character, his wise limitation of himself to what belonged directly to his calling,

appeased the wide-spread discontent with the clergy, especially those from abroad, to whose instigations the late confusion and disaster were attributed; whilst on the other hand, his ample stores of knowledge, his unshaken firmness, where duty was concerned, and his unwearied zeal maintained the freedom of the Gospel and the cause of the Reformation, as far as could be in the midst of the general exhaustion. Meanwhile there was no hindrance to the return of the old estate to the limits of the canton and outside of it. Numerous altars were restored. The Catholic church and her priests awoke to renewed activity. Into the desolate cells of St. Gall, Muri, Einsiedeln, Wettingen, Rheinau, Katharinenthal, Hermatschweil and Gnadenthal marched back their exiled, or fugitive occupants, and in the feeling of victory, arose to new and stronger power.

And now, what does this history teach? What does it teach every succeeding generation? That in all centuries wisdom and mildness, as well as rashness and violence, are the same. The former are a blessing to the nations, full of light and warmth; the latter only lead to unfruitful reactions. Whatever the Reformers did and said for the liberty of the Gospel has remained and borne rich fruits. All attempts on the other hand, to help this liberty to a triumph, in the way of violence, have only wrought injury. So, too, in our times, no good is to be hoped for from *any* party, whether under civil or ecclesiastical form, the inspiring soul of which is not the divine breath of love. The stronger the independence of the individual and the power of national feeling rise along with the everywhere growing freedom of the press, that engine of reformation in the hands of the Almighty, the more indispensable does it become for those who would lead others, to win them over by conscientious persuasion. But he alone can produce any permanent impression, who along with the free, true and loving word unites the power of his own example. Think-

ers, indeed, might be willing to listen to the former, but the latter, speaks more clearly than any mere doctrine ever can, to the very heart of the people. Henceforward, naked power can establish nothing. No longer can the strong mind (and this is the character of the coming age) rule the world; only the strong and *good* will be able to show, *how God rules it*; but the princes and nations, who recognize this the soonest, shall become the wisest, and they also will attain the greatest power.

Cushings. free

Henneman #.ne

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